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Inter-Arab Affairs

Arab Groups React to Israel's Golan Resolution

Arab League—'Existing Tension' Increased

NC1311220991 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2102 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Cairo, 13 Nov (MENA)—The Arab League's General Secretariat has confirmed that the Syrian Golan Heights is Arab. The secretariat said that Israel, by its attempts to exclude the Golan from any negotiations concerning the final status of this strategic area, is increasing the existing tension in the region.

The secretariat issued a statement here today calling on the international community and the UN Security Council to act swiftly to force Israel to abandon its expansionist ambitions regarding the occupied Arab territories.

The secretariat referred to the decision issued at the Arab League Council's 96th regular session last September. The decision rejects and denounces Israel's occupation of the Golan and all the past and future measures taken by Israel to change the historic, legal, and natural status of the Arab Syrian Golan Heights.

The secretariat said that the recent Israeli measures and inhumane and illegitimate practices conflict with the current peace efforts, which are based on the principles of international law and the UN resolutions, particularly UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Parliamentary Union Condemns Resolution

JN1411185291 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1750 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Damascus, 14 Nov (SANA)—The General Secretariat of the Arab Parliamentary Union [APU] has condemned the recent provocative Israeli resolution, which entrenches Israel's occupation of the Golan and intensifies settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

In a statement issued here today, it stressed that the Zionist Knesset's resolution provides irrefutable evidence of Israel's rejection of peace efforts in the region; its efforts to torpedo them; and its insistence on continuing its policy based on consolidating its occupation, repression, and defiance of the international community and resolutions of international legitimacy.

The statement said the resolution contradicts Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, which rejects the acquisition of land by force, and Resolution 497 of 1981, which deems the decision to annex the Golan as null and void. The statement also says that the Israeli decision conflicts with the numerous resolutions issued by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on this subject.

Concluding its statement, the APU urged the international community, parliamentary organizations, and international establishments to confront Israeli arrogance and to pressure Israel into heeding the will of international legitimacy, and to prevent it from obstructing the current efforts aimed at establishing a comprehensive and just political settlement in the region, based on UN resolutions.

Letter Circulated at Arab League on Iraq Embargo

JN1411154091 Baghdad INA in English 1520 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Cairo, Nov 14, INA—Iraq's permanent mission to the Arab League has said that victims from children, women and elderly represent the conclusive evidence that [the] goal of the economic blockade imposed on the Iraqi people is to annihilate this brave people.

In a letter circulated here, the mission added that the Iraqi people are now suffering from humanitarian pressures and serious health conditions as a result of the U.N.-imposed embargo.

AMU Ratifies Culture, Information Projects

LD1511051591 Tripoli JANA in English 1045 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Algiers, 14 Nov (JANA)—The meetings of the Arab Maghreb Union ministers of information and culture were concluded Wednesday evening with the establishment of the charter ratifying a number of projects and recommendations in the area of information and culture.

The following items were ratified during this first session of AMU Information and Culture Ministers Council: draft agreement for information and cultural cooperation, the internal structure and regulations of the Information and Culture Ministers Council, formation of a team of experts to lay down a complete prospect for the creation of a unified Maghreb news agency, and another team to study the project of creating a similar radio and television broadcasting house.

The council also ratified the establishment of a Maghreb market for the sale of audio-visual productions, creation of a special fund to finance and support joint productions, the establishment of a Maghreb centre for the children culture, the expansion of the national and bilateral institutions and Maghrebizing them , the institution of an annual prize to be awarded for the best production, the multiplication of cultural weeks and manifestations, cooperation amongst national libraries, laying down a Maghreb cultural strategy and the encouragement of the exchanges in the field of newspapers, magazines, periodicals and reviews.

Islamic Affairs

ICO Science, Technology Meeting Views Priorities

BK1211115291 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1600 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] The president, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, has identified four priority areas to be addressed by Muslim nations if they are to survive with dignity and honor in a fast-changing world. These are awareness of the importance of science and technology among masses, development of high-quality manpower, promotion of indigenous technology and its transfer, and application of science and technology for environmental management and protection. The president identified the priority areas while inaugurating the fifth meeting of the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] standing committee on scientific and technological cooperation [COMSTEC] in Islamabad today. The president called on Muslim countries to launch mass contact and awareness programs to make the common man appreciate the impact of science and technology on the quality of life. He said popularization of science is a prerequisite for scientific and technological revolution. To accelerate production and training of high-quality manpower, he suggested undertaking concerted efforts to establish special institutions in various scientific disciplines. The president also suggested adoption of a basic strategy by moving away from present reliance on import of technology through turn-key mechanism to an optimum mix of importation of (?untapped) technology and upgradation of indigenous technology.

About transfer of technology, he said Muslim countries, which possess dependable scientific expertise and advanced technology, should be able to transfer these to each other on [word indistinct] terms. At the same time, the president cautioned the Muslim countries against becoming a dumping ground of old and obsolete technology by developed supplier states.

Later, in his opening remarks, the president also urged the ummah [Islamic community] to work together to build a collective strength in science and technology for economic advancement, cultural identity, and realization of their manifest destiny. He asked the delegates to work out a possible mechanism through mobilizing resources to implement COMSTEC programs.

In a message to the COMSTEC meeting, the prime minister, Mr. Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, said the Islamic ummah presents the potential to rekindle the flames of scientific inquiry and technological revolution for ushering in a renaissance in the Muslim world, which at one time was a shining example for all to emulate.

The ICO secretary general, Dr. Hamed al-Abid, in his address thanked the president and the prime minister for their personal interest in promotion of scientific and technical cooperation among Islamic states.

Palestinian Affairs

'Arafat Intifadah Speech Hails Madrid Process

JN0911174091 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Address by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to mark the 48th month of the intifadah; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate: Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies, and others besides, whom you may not know, but whom God doth know. Whatever you shall spend in the cause of God shall be repaid unto you, and you shall not be treated unjustly. But if the enemy inclines toward peace, do thou also incline toward peace, and trust in God: For He is the one that heareth and knoweth all things. Should they intend to deceive thee- verily God sufficeth thee: He is that hath strengthened thee with his aid and with the company of the believers. [Koranic verses]

O masses of the valiant intifadah, those raising the banner of freedom and independence, and heroes of the revolution of the sacred stones. O steadfast children in southern Lebanon, revolutionaries and mujahidin in every revolution and jihad, and sons of our struggling people in the homeland and the diaspora. O masses of our great Arab nation: Today, we stand at the doors of the fifth year of our blessed intifadah; we are approaching the end of the fourth year of the popular struggle and the epic resistance of our blessed intifadah. We are approaching the end of the 27th year of our legendary revolution, the longest popular revolution in modern history.

Four years of heroic confrontation and obstinate steadfastness have passed; four years of great, unlimited sacrifices; four years of restructuring our society, introducing the spirit and values of the valiant intifadah; four years of a unique revolutionary experience serving as a beacon for the nations of the world and a model emulated by those aspiring for freedom.

And now, after many years of revolution and long and tough struggle, we are firming up our promise on the political, historical, and geographic map of this world. And after four years of the escalating intifadah, we have started to reap the fruits. And after our long patience and faithful resilience, we have begun the harvest season. Here is the intifadah, the culmination of our people's jihad throughout this century, recording a decisive and historic achievement for our cause.

Yes, my brothers, and my beloved ones. When, a few days ago, our Palestinian delegation sat at the negotiating table in Madrid to speak in the name of the people of Palestine, that meant rectifying history, and abolishing decades of the deliberate exclusion of our voice

and its independence. It also meant entrenching the presence and existence of a people that have roots, heritage, and rights, a people with a presence pulsating with resistance and steadfastness, and a future dedicated to freedom and independence.

That meant a historic reply, a historic reply refuting the dictum that was announced by the Zionists at the Basel Congress in 1897 that Palestine was a land without a people for a people without a land. When the voice of our people resounded in Madrid through their delegation, which enjoys their trust and that of their leadership—the PLO—the world listened to the voice of more than 6 million Palestinians in the homeland, in the exiles, and in the diaspora and also listened to the epic of the bitter suffering, the firm steadfastness, the brave resistance, and the just struggle. Our participation in the Middle East peace conference, which was called by Presidents Gorbachev and Bush and which was approved by our institutions and legislative frameworks, came as a result of a sound understanding and an accurate assessment of the changes in our world and as a result of the desire and commitment for protecting the higher national interests of our people as well as the higher pan-Arab interests.

Participation in this way, as well as the distinguished performance, have destroyed the restrictions, the conditions, and the proposals which they tried to impose on that participation, both in form and substance. We have imposed the brilliant presence of our people's cause from our own point of view and on the basis of our legitimate rights and our firm demands, thereby canceling attempts to exclude us, dwarf us, and belittle us and proving our people's unity wherever they are as well as their commitment to their leadership, framework, and institutions. We have also aborted attempts at division, sharing, and fragmentation, be they plots to exclude Jerusalem and the holy shrines, divide the people inside and outside the occupied territories, or attempts to deal with Palestine separately and apart from the Arabs.

The Madrid days have been Arab-Palestinian days, during which our people's just cause was imposed on the conscience of the entire world. Those days culminated decades of jihad, struggle, and steadfastness, and entrenched the changes the intifadah has effected on world public opinion. Thus, the world found itself before two contradictory examples and two conflicting positions. On the one hand, our message was that of truth, freedom, justice, and peace; it was the message of a steadfast people waging jihad in their revolution and intifadah, demanding peace, while adhering to their inalienable national rights and to their right to defend their Islamic and Christian holy places and their children and land. It was the message of a people capable of seizing the historic moment and asserting the conformity of their objectives with the slogans of the new era in the world's history. It was a message of people wrenching for the first time in this century their legitimate right to be directly, clearly, and even distinctly present in a forum devoted to discussing their destiny, rights, cause, land, and holy places.

Yes, our people in Madrid presented their true and worthy image. Their genuine cry attracted the world's comprehensive sympathy, support, and understanding. On the other hand, the speech of the occupiers reflected the dreams and hatred of racial superiority and the arrogance of imported force. It emerged from the heart of mythology and the illusions of expansion, alien to the spirit of the age and defying human values and international legitimacy. In Madrid, Israel presented its real, ugly, and dangerous image and showed the dimensions of its ambitions and goals and the dangers they pose to our Palestinian and Arab territories and to our Palestinian people and our Arab nation. In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. O ye who believe! Take your precautions, and either go forth in parties or go forth all together. [koranic verse]

Sisters and brothers, the Madrid conference has confirmed the existence of our people on the world's political map, and consecrated our presence in the new world order. However, this new order will not be constructed at the expense of our nation and our people, as happened before, thanks to the Sykes-Picot and Yalta agreements. All this was reinforced by the good performance of our brothers, members of the Arab delegations, and also of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, not to mention the splendid work of our Palestinian delegation, as well as the excellent performance of its members, who held the banner of our people and homeland, defended our cause and rights, and confirmed the cohesion and unity of our masses everywhere. Similarly, they affirmed their allegiance to their national movement—the PLO—leader of their struggle, guardian of their history and heritage, and forger of the future of our generations. They were excellent peers in all respects. Thus, they have earned the greetings, appreciation, and salute of our people. In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. When thou threwest a handful of dust, it was not thy act, but God's: In order that He might test the believers by a gracious trial from Himself: For God is He who heareth and knoweth all things. That, and also because God is He who makes feeble the plans and stratagems of the unbelievers. [Koranic verses]

Brothers and beloved ones: Throughout the past two weeks, you have taken to the streets of cities, villages, and camps in our occupied homeland in sweeping marches and demonstrations, holding the banner of the PLO, and the banner of adherence to the resolutions of our Palestine National Council [PNC] and our Central Council. By so doing, you have asserted your firm adherence to our demands for freedom and national independence. By this sweeping surge of mass action, you provided our delegation in Madrid with unequaled support and backing. Thus, the picture has become complete before the world, affirming the unity of our people and their rallying around their leadership, around their objectives, and around rights. Our decision to take

part in the peace conference was made in accordance with a democratic process conducted by our institutions and establishments. We are strongly keen to confirm the right to voice differing opinions, and affirm respect for dissenting views on the basis of maintaining objectivity, keenly safeguarding national unity, and that there should be no recourse, in word or deed, to defamation or intellectual terrorism.

Our framework and institutions will remain as they have always been—an arena for plurality of opinions under the ceiling of national unity and on the basis of commitment to our people's goals. Through their demonstrations, marches, and support for our delegation in Madrid our people have reaffirmed their support for the PNC and PLO Central Council resolutions and their rejection of any trusteeship or subservience from whatever source it may come and under whatever slogan it may use.

Sisters and brothers: As I have said, our participation has been a correction of history's course. This participation has also constituted a brilliant diplomatic and information victory for our people everywhere, and a victory that will be an asset and a supporting factor for us in the coming stage—yes, in the coming stage, keep this in mind, brothers—of our revolution and our jihad. However, we should realize and be aware that the road before us is still a long one, a long one, a long road.

Brothers: What we have achieved is a small step on a protracted course. We must expect momentous difficulties and major challenges. The intransigent, inflexible, and racist Israeli stand is the biggest stumbling block in the face of progress on the road to peace. The barbaric quelling of our people's demonstrations by the authorities of occupation, the escalation of the campaign of arrests, the siege, the curfews, the statements saturated with racist and expansionist spirits, and the air raids and the fierce shellings of our Palestinian camps and villages and towns in southern Lebanon are only evidence of Israel's intentions which Shamir did not try to conceal in Madrid. That's why the preliminary success we have scored at the opening of the conference should not make us rest on our laurels. We must remain vigilant and alert, and continue our struggle in defense of the rights, lands, history, the future, and the holy places.

All this puts the world, particularly the sponsors of the conference, the peace conference, and specifically the United States, to a difficult test of its credibility, and is a challenge to its stature. We have presented all evidence and practical steps that have substantiated the credibility of our approach as a Palestinian people and as an Arab nation toward peace. The world now should force Israel to clarify its stands in accordance with what is currently being put forth. The ruling establishment pursues its attempts to sabotage every effort for peace, particularly by continuing to build settlements and conspiring to judaize Jerusalem and the holy places.

Here lies the responsibility of the United States. It should prove committed to using a single standard in dealing with international legitimacy and its resolutions, not double standards, one for the Gulf and the other for Palestine—the land of sanctities, the first of the two qiblahs, the third holiest shrine, the country to which Prophet Muhammad, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, made his night journey, and the cradle of Christ, peace be upon him.

Sisters and brothers: Our people will continue to march on the road of peace, emphasizing their trust in God and in themselves, and insisting on their rights. In this context, we worked over the past few weeks, as you know, to achieve the maximum possible coordination among the concerned Arab sides, especially after the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. Our efforts bore fruit, and a seven-way Arab meeting was held in Damascus before leaving for Madrid. The meeting drew the broad lines for uniting and boosting the Arab negotiating position in Madrid. In the past few days, we have continued our contacts with the Arab brothers to evaluate the previous stage and prepare for the coming one, which is going to be the toughest and the longest. We trust that the coming days will see consolidation of Arab coordination and solidarity to serve our nation's objectives and interests. We will also keep in touch with all friendly forces and lovers of peace and freedom to bolster action in this direction.

O sons of our great people; O revolutionaries in all positions of struggle inside and outside our beloved homeland; O heroes of the unified national leadership and the strike forces; O strugglers within the institutions of youths, students, women, workers, merchants, farmers, professionals, vocationalists, academicians, and civil servants; O courageous captives in prisons and detention camps; O valiant wounded; O steadfast people in the camps, villages, and towns of southern Lebanon: With our participation in the Madrid conference, we were storming another field of struggle and making a decision to engage in clashes and confrontation on a new front. ['Arafat repeats the previous sentence a second time]. We are not going to play, no. We know what we are going to do.

We went to Madrid to fight, so that we might wrest our rights and so the voice of our people might be heard loud and clear. We went to Madrid to face our enemies with boldness and courage as the world has seen. From the new arena of struggle—in the political and diplomatic, informational, scientific, and cultural action—our presence draws its meaning and effectiveness and influence. It is from the main arena of struggle that our presence is drawn—from the arena of the intifadah. What arena, brothers? The arena of the intifadah. ['Arafat repeats the previous two sentences three times] It is from the soul of the giant revolution, from our profound faith, and from our unique jihad that our presence is drawn. All these have combined to accelerate the accomplishment of the historic step of our people taking a seat at the conference table. Let us intensify the intifadah further and further—the sure guarantee for a bolstered stand and our presence. Let us put in more and more perseverance, jihad,

and struggle in the arena of jihad, the jihad toward wresting our rights and liberating our land.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. O unbelievers, if ye prayed for victory and judgment, now hath the judgment come to you. If ye desist from wrong, it will be best for you. If ye return to the attack, so shall we. Not the least good will your forces be to you even if they multiplied. For verily, God is with those who believe. [Koranic verses]

Heroes, revolutionaries, strugglers, as the fifth year of the intifadah draws closer, the missions assigned to it grow greater. Our present mission is to safeguard and develop the intifadah and protect it with national unity—national unity, national unity, a genuine national unity encompassing all of you without exception. I cannot overemphasize unity, our striving people. We are not to allow any dallying with this unity, nor prejudice the momentum of our intifadah under any pretext or on any grounds. Rather, this unity must be reinforced by greater democracy. With what must we reinforce our unity, brothers? With greater democracy. Yes, indeed. Greater democracy, greater democracy, greater democracy. Greater democracy and freedom of opinion and expression through the independent Palestinian decision which finds expression in our legislative institutions.

Our masses that poured into the streets of the homeland over the past two weeks should pursue the effort to impose the authority of the people; yes indeed, the authority of the people. Yes indeed, the authority of the intifadah, the authority of the people and the intifadah on the soil of the homeland. Our institutions and committees should maintain the momentum of the masses. The momentum should be buttressed with all elements of strength and firmness. There should be more escalation so that our national unity is further consolidated. Let all efforts be directed toward supporting and intensifying the blessed intifadah. Let the banners of freedom and independence flutter in the skies of the homeland. Let the streets of our cities, villages, and camps witness massive demonstrations to set the land alight under the feet of the invaders and occupation. Let us deal them heavy blows with the firmness of faith.

The omens of good news are in the offing. ['Arafat repeats previous sentence three times] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Verily, we have granted thee a manifest victory, that God may forgive thee the faults of the past and those to follow. Fulfill his favor to thee, and guide thee on the straight way and that God may help thee with powerful help. Verily, those who plight their fealty to thee do no less than plight their fealty to God: The hand of God is over their hands. Then anyone who violates his oath, does so to the harm of his own soul, and any one who fulfills what he has covenanted with God, God will soon grant him a great reward. [Koranic verses]

Victory, my brothers, is on the way. Victory is on the way. Dawn is on the way. Dawn is on the way. Revolution until victory.

PLO Executive Committee Meets on Peace Strategy

LD1411105491 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0600 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The PLO Executive Committee continued to meet in Tunis yesterday evening in order to look into the developments of the peace process. Well-informed Palestinian sources said the committee was devoting itself particularly to assessing the performance of the Palestinian delegation at the Madrid conference and on ways to face the second part of the conference in the framework of Arab-Israeli bilateral negotiations as well as ways to escalate the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories in order to face Israeli stubborness and Tel-Aviv's refusal to stop settlement, to put an end to occupation, and to establish the Palestinian state.

A Palestinian source confirmed to TAP that the Executive Committee might look into the distribution of ministerial portfolios of the Palestinian state so the executive apparatus of the state of Palestine, proclaimed at the Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers in 1988, would be installed.

Halt to Settlements Demanded

JN1411183491 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1700 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] PLO Executive Committee member Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh has announced that the Executive Committee, currently meeting in Tunis, demands a halt to settlement building in the occupied territories before the start of bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Arabs. He said the committee decided that priority must be given to stopping settlements before discussing an agenda for bilateral negotiations. 'Abd-Rabbuh noted that the Executive Committee is awaiting clarification before giving its final agreement on Washington as a venue for negotiations. These clarifications must deal with the Palestinian demands concerning the facilities which will be given to the Palestinian delegation, in terms of its right to select, without constraints, any advisers and experts it might need during the negotiations.

On another level, the Executive Committee, which will continue its meetings in Tunis, has also discussed the issue of the transitional autonomy period in the occupied territories. 'Abd- Rabbuh explained that the PLO is of the view that this transitional period should be shortened to two instead of the five years stipulated by the U.S. plan, after which Palestinian control over land, water, and legislative affairs will be established.

'Abd-Rabbuh noted that the PLO is of the view that this transitional period must be concluded with a referendum on self- determination. He reiterated that the PLO supports the presence of an international force to replace Israeli forces during this period.

Fatah Activists Ordered To Reappoint Committees

TA1511102491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1000 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat has ordered Fatah activists in the territories to reorganize the political committees that were established recently. The order, signed by 'Arafat and sent by fax to East Jerusalem, instructs Fatah activists to establish a reorganization committee, which would in turn reappoint the committees. The PLO leader ordered his men to include 15 members in the reorganization committee: seven from Judaea and Samaria, seven from the Gaza Strip, and Sari Nusaybah as the chairman.

Our correspondent Moti Amir reports that the order came after many territories residents voiced their resentment over the appointment to the committees of people they believe are unsuitable for the job. Most of the criticism was directed at Ziyad Abu- Zayyad, who appointed them.

Fatah Leaflet Orders Committees Disbanded

TA1511100991 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 15 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by Pinhas 'Inbari]

[Text] A Fatah leaflet published in the territories yesterday states for the first time the conditions for terminating the intifadah. The leaflet says that as long as Israel is not ready to at least declare the end of the occupation, and continues setting up settlements, the intifadah will continue with all its might. "We will hold an olive branch in one hand and a stone in the other," the leaflet says, because the Israeli soldiers are still carrying guns and Israel continues setting up settlements.

In another paragraph the leaflet says: "The struggle and the intifadah will go on until we attain all our goals."

Fatah yesterday instructed all the political committees recently set up in the West Bank to disband. The leaflet says that this is 'Arafat's personal order.

The leaflet states that the political committees hurt one of the major achievements of the intifadah: the infrastructure of the underground intifadah committees, which are the basis for the future Palestinian state. The leaflet further states that Fatah is loyal to the Palestinian peace initiative and supports the (current) peace process.

The leaflet adheres to the basic Palestinian demands and says it is not willing to sacrifice the intifadah achievements, which were "bought in blood."

'Arafat To Meet Fahd in Saudi Arabia 'Soon'

JN1511104491 Amman SHIHAN in Arabic 16-22 Nov 91 p 15

[Text] SHIHAN has learned from an official Palestinian source that preparations are currently under way for Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat to visit Saudi Arabia and meet with King Fahd Bin- 'Abd-al-'Aziz. The visit is expected to take place soon.

The official indicated that president 'Arafat and King Fahd will discuss normalization of Palestinian-Saudi relations and the restoration of those ties to pre-Gulf-crisis levels. Prior to the crisis, these relations were characterized by their strength.

He said that President 'Arafat will ask King Fahd to mediate with the Kuwaiti authorities for the release of Palestinian prisoners who were arrested, after the Kuwaiti authorities were reinstated last February, for cooperation with the Iraqi authorities. The Saudi monarch managed to reduce their death sentences to life in prison.

He added that 'Arafat will, particularly, ask King Fahd to employ the position Saudi Arabia enjoys with the United States to pressure Israel into stopping its settlements and making the Israelis respond to the requirements of the peace process.

Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan informed the PLO of Saudi Arabia's approval of a visit by president 'Arafat. SHIHAN has also learned that the United Arab Emirates have agreed to receive the Palestinian president during a visit in the near future.

'Arafat, Mubarak Discuss Regional Water Conference

JN1211105891 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 12 Nov 91 p 24

[Excerpt] Tunis—AL-DUSTUR—Palestinian sources have said that one of the important topics Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat discussed with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak was Palestinian participation in the regional water conference to be held in Cairo soon, because the Palestinians believe that they should be involved in this conference.

The sources noted that President Mubarak promised to support Palestinian participation in this conference. Syria and Jordan will also support Palestinian participation. Invitations to attend this conference have been sent to the parties, but the PLO was excluded. So far, it has not been decided whether the Palestinian delegates will be from inside or outside the occupied territory or whether a mixed delegation from inside and outside will be formed. What is certain, however, is that the PLO will appoint the participants once the Arabs have succeeded in associating the Palestinians with the conference. [passage omitted]

'Abd-al-Shafi Confirms Coordination With PLO

TA1511113191 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 15 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by Sulayman al-Shafa'i, Yoram Binur, and news agencies]

[Excerpt] Addressing a Gaza rally marking the anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Palestinian state yesterday, Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation to the Madrid conference, said: "Throughout the Madrid talks, we were in full coordination with our leadership in Tunis. Every Palestinian child in the occupied territories is a representative of the PLO."

Concerning the bilateral discussions, 'Abd-al-Shafi said: "If Israel continues to insist on the positions it has adopted toward us, we will have to resign and return the mandate to our leadership abroad." He also revealed that the Palestinian delegation has received no U.S. guarantees which could serve as a basis for future negotiations. "Our only assurance is the U.S. agreement that the solution should be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Also, the United States admits that Jerusalem is occupied territory," he said. [passage omitted covered in referent item]

[In a profile of 'Abd-al-Shafi on pages 8 and 9 of YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew on 15 November, correspondent Aviva Shabi asks him if he will resign from the delegation if the PLO does not adhere to the principles in which he believes. He replies: "Of course. I have my own political outlook, and if things do not correspond with this outlook, I will feel free to quit."]

Israel 'Easy Target' in Negotiations

NC1011080191 Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 4 Nov 91 p 7

[Report on interview with Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian side to the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace talks, by ROSE AL-YUSUF correspondent Wa'il al-Abrashi—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] In an interview with ROSE AL-YUSUF, Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation, said that Israel is an "easy target" in any negotiations based on legal and historical foundations that exclude political considerations and foreign support.

He said Israel is going to the peace conference with no legal or historical documents to support its negotiating position. It is ironic that the only legal documents it possesses are United Nations and UN Security Council resolutions; apparently Israel decides which UN resolutions it will or will not to recognize. The Arab delegations—particularly the Palestinian delegation—however, possess legal and historical documents that prove their claims.

He added that Israeli intransigence and obstinacy have a political basis. Israel has pretexts and claims to buttress its political position because it is deft in the art of cunning and prevarication. When it comes to the negotiating table it is a different matter. You, in Egypt, he said are the first to understand this in light of your experience on the Taba issue. We are taking documents to the conference that prove our rights. Our delegation also includes legal and political experts.

[Al-Abrashi] Is your delegation limited in how much it can offer, or do you have a lot of flexibility?

['Abd-al-Shafi] We are going to the conference with a great deal of flexibility. It is, however, "flexibility bound by caution." To put it another way, it is "flexibility in dialogue" but not "flexibility on rights." We offered everything we could in the Palestine National Council's 19th session in November 1988 when we recognized Israel's right to exist and accepted the principle of a peaceful solution. We are going to the conference on this basis. A specific limit has not been set but Palestinian negotiators know what the limit is. This limit includes all Palestinian rights. If the Palestinian negotiator concedes these rights, nothing is left. Nevertheless, our objective is to ensure the conferences, success and to show a degree of flexibility, but not at the expense of the Palestinian people's rights.

[Al-Abrashi] We hear the phrase "the transitional period" a lot these days. The Palestinians are also using it. We also hear things like "negotiating in stages" and postponing negotiations on Jerusalem.

['Abd-al-Shafi] The invitation we received says the solution will be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The United States and the entire international community stressed the "land-for-peace" principle as a basis for a comprehensive and just settlement. We do not want to jump to conclusions. I fear the phrase "the transitional period." Some Palestinians use it to mean the arrangements that will follow Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. It can, however, be interpreted as indicating "autonomy," which we reject and which Israel advocates. We are also opposed to "negotiating by stages," but we might accept procedural stages. This means that we refuse to negotiate in stages or "piecemeal" as Israel wants: Negotiating today over Gaza, then over the West Bank, and then Jerusalem, and so on. The settlement must be comprehensive and just because UN resolutions are indivisible. One cannot implement the parts it likes and leave out the parts it does not like. We might accept implementation in stages after we reach a comprehensive settlement based on Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. This means the settlement can be implemented in stages of short duration.

The primary principle, however, is the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. We cannot exclude the Jerusalem issue from the conference because this will mean accepting Israel's position on it. All issues, without exception, will be discussed at the conference. There will either be a comprehensive settlement or no settlement at all. Every agreement reached will be given international legitimacy by the United Nations. Israel wants partial agreements so it can obtain the greatest possible gains and turn its back on the Palestinian people's full and legitimate political rights. [passage omitted]

PLO Official on U.S. Venue, Visa Requirement

JN1511091191 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 15 Nov 91 pp 20, 16

[By Fathi al-Barqawi from Tunis]

[Excerpts] AL-RA'Y has learned from well-informed Palestinian sources that the United States has informed the PLO that if negotiations in the second phase of the Middle East peace conference are held in Washington, all Palestinians participating in the conference will be required to obtain an entry visa. [passage omitted]

Dr. Jamil Hilal, director general of the PLO Information Department, said that if the U.S. demand that the Palestinian peace conference delegation obtain entry visas in advance if the second round of talks is held in the United States is confirmed, this would mean that the PLO will not be able to play the same role it did in the Spanish capital. Consequently, he believes that Washington, or any other American city, would not be the most appropriate venue. He indicated that there are other factors which render the United States an inappropriate venue, including Zionist control over the U.S. media and the continued closure of the PLO Information Office in Washington. He noted that this will not allow the Palestinian delegation to obtain necessary technical support, which the other delegations would be able to receive from their embassies in Washington. Besides, he said, the U.S. Administration has so far showed no genuine desire to resume contacts with the PLO.

Dr. Hilal said he believes that the United States hopes that the concerned parties will themselves request that Washington be the venue of bilateral negotiations, rather than having this decision forced on them, so that terms can be imposed, especially on the Palestinians.

According to the director general of the PLO Information Department, the Palestinians prefer at least a neutral, if not sympathetic, European capital. He explained that the real problem is not the venue, which represents only a minor aspect of the conflict. He indicated that the real conflict will revolve around the agenda and priorities.

He affirmed that the PLO has not yet officially approved participation in multilateral negotiations. He indicated that the PLO will adhere to its stand, calling for linking these negotiations to the amount of progress achieved in the second phase, before moving on to the third round. He indicated that the Israeli position is at odds with the Palestinian position, because the Israeli Government seeks political, economic and security arrangements through normalization without discussing any of the major issues related to the territories. In other words, this would fulfill the Israeli prime minister's demand that negotiations be based on the peace-for-peace approach rather than the principle of land for peace. [passage omitted]

Regarding how the Palestinians view self-rule, Dr. Hilal explained that the PLO understands that this would include the formation of a transitional government. He said this understanding differs from Shamir's proposals, which are aimed at securing Israel's control over the territories. He explained that the U.S. letter of assurances, sent along with the invitation to the Madrid conference, provides for Palestinian control over economic, social, and other aspects of life in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. [passage omitted]

AL-FAJR Expects Resumed U.S.-PLO Dialogue

TA1411153391 Jerusalem AL-FAJR in Arabic 11 Nov 91 pp 1, 11

[Editorial: "Washington and the Resumption of the Dialogue With the PLO"]

[Text] Although the venue and date for the second round of bilateral negotiations has not been officially determined yet by all the parties concerned, Washington is being widely mentioned now as a suitable venue for this round. All these parties have sort of accepted this venue and the date, which has reportedly been set for 22 November.

Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, our delegation's official spokesperson, has said that our side accepts Washington, provided certain conditions are met. Evidently, these conditions are not aimed at interfering in the slightest with the negotiations themselves, but are of necessity aimed at resuming the dialogue between the U.S. Administration and the PLO in a way that will serve the correct and suitable measures, as well as the ways and means, for the success of these negotiations and their continuation on the path of their peaceful and declared goals.

Therefore, our acceptance of Washington as a suitable venue for the next round means readiness on the part of the U.S. Administration to resume its dialogue with the PLO, in one way or another, by allowing its members to go to Washington without preconditions and without the old impediments, which are totally unjustified.

In fact, many PLO officials have called for the resumption of this dialogue. Now, under the positive climate which was fostered by the recent negotiations in the first round and which will continue to flourish in the upcoming second round, as well as in all future rounds, they are calling for the removal of all the obstacles on this path and for providing real and reasonable means for the dialogue's success on its long course.

Although U.S. officials have not spoken officially yet about this dialogue and about Washington's readiness to resume it, we expect the Bush administration to move toward a positive decision in this regard before 22 November.

New U.S. Initiative on Israel 'Not Balanced'

LD1511091991 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Brothers: In connection with the U.S. efforts to give momentum to the peace conference and the holding of a second round of talks, people are talking about a fresh U.S. initiative calling for a halt to Israeli settlement in the occupied territories in exchange for ending the state of war with Israel, lifting the Arab boycott, and putting an end to the intifadah.

If this is a high price to be paid by Arabs and Palestinians merely to stop the Israeli settlement, one must ask here what price is to be paid to bring about an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and southern Lebanon.

Such an initiative means, moreover, that Israel can kill a number of birds with one stone. President Bush is waging a battle against the Congress on the issue of the $10 billion loan guarantees for Israel. Therefore, if the Israeli settlement is halted, this would mean President Bush's battle against Congress has been avoided without any confrontation. Israel would then obtain the loan guarantees in addition to what it had already gained from Arabs and Palestinians. That is why President Bush is avoiding confrontation as he begins his election campaign for a second term.

What really makes one laugh and cry at the same time is the fact that once the Israeli settlement is stopped there would be nowhere left in the occupied Palestinian territories to erect any new settlements. Should Israel insist on excluding the settlements around Jerusalem from such an initiative, this would mean that the state of the holy city, at the end of the transitional period—which would go on for several years before the final status of Jerusalem is examined— would be such that it would be impossible for it to return to the Arab house in any form.

What Israel calls Jerusalem constitutes 25 percent of the West Bank territories. Therefore the fresh U.S. initiative does no more than throw dust in the eyes of Arabs and Palestinians. The vast majority of the sons of the our Palestinian people welcomed the convening of the Madrid conference and the orientation toward a settlement and peace. This does not mean, however, that our people have capitulated and have accepted peace on any terms.

Israel continues to implement its settlement project with a building campaign that Prime Minister Shamir has described as a day in, day out campaign to build a greater Israel on all Palestinian territories. Stopping the Israeli settlement is a matter of concern to us. However, stopping settlement does not mean that all problems have been resolved. More than 60 percent of the occupied Palestinian territories have been seized. What will the situation of these lands be within the framework of the fresh U.S. initiative?

The diplomatic and public relations success scored by Arabs and Palestinians at the Madrid conference has begun to encounter difficulties even before the beginning of the second round of talks, given the fact that the United States has, through its fresh initiative, imposed impossible conditions upon us. Our people are ready for sacrifices in order to attain the objectives of peace. Furthermore, they fully accept the U.S. initiative, if it is linked with a timetable for the Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and grants the Palestinian people its right to self- determination. However, the U.S. initiative, as it stands now, is not balanced in its demands for concessions from the Arab and Israeli sides.

In seeking to epitomize our understanding of the talks and to shoulder our responsibility as a people and a leadership, we will spare no effort to achieve a just and comprehensive peace on the basis of Palestinian constants [thawabit].

The fresh U.S.initiative, furthermore, does not meet the minimum requirements of justice. Our participation in bilateral negotiations on the basis of this initiative would mean that our hands are tied from the beginning and that the negotiations could be jeopardized by new dangers.

Our deeply rooted faith and conviction that we should go ahead with the negotiations does not mean capitulation and surrender; our determination will remain firm and we will not abandon one inch of our pure land.

The last word for the United States: Your much-heralded new world order will not see the light of day if it is based upon wrong assumptions and has nothing to do with the American people's principles.

Spokesman, Al-Husayni on Talks Program, Intifadah

NC1011124191 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1015 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] Riyadh, 10 Nov (MENA)—Official PLO Spokesman Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman said that the Palestinian delegation will go to the second phase of the peace negotiations with a complete program based on the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace.

In a statement to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT today, the PLO spokesman said that the Palestinian program contains an agenda, the first priority of which is the immediate halt to settlements in the occupied land as a basis for entering into any other details. The program also stipulates that negotiations not take more than three months to reach an agreement on the transitional period, during which a provisional Palestinian government must be formed, the occupation must end, a timetable must be established for the Israeli forces' withdrawal from the

occupied territories, and peace accords must be signed between Israel and the Palestinian state.

The Palestinian spokesman stressed that the agreement on a transitional period does not mean self-rule, but rather a provisional Palestinian government to replace the occupation authority in all forms. He said that the phase of Arab-Israeli negotiations can not be initiated unless tangible measures concerning the implementation of Resolutions 242 and 338 and the land-for-peace principle have been achieved.

Faysal al-Husayni, head of the Palestinian advisory delegation, told 'UKAZ newspaper that if nothing practical is achieved soon about an agreement or understanding on the bilateral talks with the Israeli side, the Arab peoples will face a great shock.

He said the settlements remain the most important and pressing issue which will be raised during the negotiations in the next round of the peace conference. He added that the Camp David Accords were able to demolish the settlements built in Sinai because Egypt insisted on destroying the settlements from the beginning of the talks and said that the issue was the basis for the talks. Egypt, he noted, did not tire or despair but handled the negotiations with more patience than Israel.

Al-Husayni pointed out that the intifadah can not be stopped because it is a real, national gauge of the Palestinian state's future. He said that by 1995, Palestinians will carry their own state's passports and the curtain will fall on a painful episode of events.

'Palestinian Peace Message' Reached Shamir's Ears

TA1411181691 Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 12 Nov 91 p 7

[Editorial: "The Palestinian Peace Message Warrants A Positive Israeli Response"]

[Text] The statements attributed to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, in which he acknowledged for the first time and in an unprecedented manner "that the Palestinians have proven that they are seriously interested in advancing the peace process," affirms that the Palestinian peace message, which was clearly presented in the Madrid conference, reached not only the international community and the Israeli public, but also the highest levels of authority in Israel. This was manifested by Shamir's new remarks. If the Israeli Government has understood the Palestinian peace message and has become convinced that the Palestinian side has proven it is trying to make real peace, then the Israeli side should take the next step.

Israel affirmed yesterday "that it will not harass the Palestinian delegation's members," who returned to the homeland, because of reports that they held meetings with PLO officials, and that it will not impose restrictions on their movement. That decision, dictated by the necessity to continue the peace talks, cannot possibly be a substitute for tangible practical overtures to the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, through which Israel can convey a real Israeli peace message to the Palestinian people, and consequently build bridges of mutual confidence that we can cross to make peace.

We believe that the first urgent Israeli steps today, which would convince the Palestinians of Israel's desire for peace, would include releasing thousands of detainees, opening sealed homes, easing various measures and restrictions imposed in the occupied territories, and halting settlement activity in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. In this way the message can also be conveyed to the Arab side.

In those ways, Shamir can take a step parallel to those demonstrated in the Palestinian positions, the seriousness of which Israel could not help but acknowledge. If the prerequisite today is to pave the way for the success of the second round of bilateral negotiations between Israel on one hand, and the Arab and Palestinian side on the other, as well as to preserve the continuity of these negotiations, Israel should avoid reaching partial or separate solutions with any one party. The sincere Arab and Palestinian desire is to attain a comprehensive, lasting, and just peace. Consequently, betting on advancing the talks with any one party at the expense of talks with other parties is a lost bet. Peace—just as security and stability in the region—is indivisible. The path to this peace should depend on the desire to achieve progress on all fronts simultaneously and in conformity with international legitimacy.

PNC Chairman: No Decision To Halt Armed Struggle

NC1111142391 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1130 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] In an interview with SAWT AL-SHA'B, Shaykh 'Abd-al- Hamid al-Sayih, chairman of the Palestine National Council [PNC], has stressed that the Palestinian leadership has decided not to stop the struggle against Israel as long as the Israeli Government continues to be stubborn and violent [word indistinct].

Al-Sayih added that the Arab states' stand during the Gulf war was one of the reasons the PLO accepted the peace conference. If any Arab state had refused to go the conference, we would have supported it, he said. However, he added, Arabs agreed to go. We could not refuse to attend because if we had, our problem would have been discussed without us.

Al-Sayih appealed to the United States to take positive steps during the second stage of negotiations by pressuring Israel and supporting just Arab rights so that the foundations of a just and comprehensive peace can be established in the region.

DFLP's Hawatimah Says Peace Process Favored

LD1011182491 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] Meanwhile, brother Nayif Hawatimah, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine Secretary-General, denied that the Democratic Front could have taken an opposing stand regarding the peace conference. He said that the Front was the first one, in 1974, to initiate an invitation for all Palestinian forces to extend their hand to the Israelis to achieve a just, comprehensive, and balanced peace, which would be based on the balance of interests. Hawatimah added that we are for the peace process and for a real beginning of the peace phase with the condition that this phase is directed towards peace; this warrants a halt to the settlements policy so that negotiations would not result in a loss of Palestine territories.

Hawatimah on Diaspora Representation

JN1311091691 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 13 Nov 91 pp 1,5

["Special to the JORDAN TIMES" by Sana' 'Atiyah]

[Text] Amman—The "peace train" that just left the Madrid station should be put on the right track if it is to reach the "proper destination" where Palestinian national rights are met according to international legitimacy, a senior leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) said Tuesday.

The leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), Nayif Hawatimah, said that it was not too late to reformulate the Palestinian delegation to the U.S.-Soviet sponsored peace process to include Palestinian representation from the diaspora and from Arab Jerusalem.

Mr. Hawatimah told the Jordan Times in an interview that there should be Palestinian unity, Palestinian-Jordanian and Arab coordination to link the issue of halting Jewish settlements in the occupied territories to suspending the negotiations until the Israelis stopped building settlements.

The official also called on efforts to insist that the agenda of the next Palestinian-Israeli bilateral negotiations be amended to include Security Council resolutions that call on Israeli withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967, rather than to negotiate the proposed self-government to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Mr. Hawatimah, who met with His Majesty King Husayn and Prime Minister Tahir al-Masri during his visit here, said that the Palestinian delegation to the Madrid peace conference, which only included personalities from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, excluding Jerusalem, would affect the substance of the actual negotiations with Israel.

"Israel insisted that the Palestinian representation to the peace conference be limited only to the West Bank and Gaza because its aim is to limit the substance of the negotiations to the destiny of only the Palestinians from the occupied territories, excluding Jerusalem," Mr. Hawatimah stressed.

It was agreed in Madrid that the next round of Palestinian-Israeli bilateral negotiations would discuss the procedure of transferring authority to the Palestinians of the occupied territories. Although the Palestinian negotiators insist that self-government is a transitional phase toward complete Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, Israel has not indicated that it was willing to do so.

Palestinian delegates to the Madrid conference, who were in Amman recently on their way to the occupied territories, had told the Jordan Times that the opinion of the Syria-based DFLP, one of the largest factions in the PLO, had its weight among the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Mr. Hawatimah said that his organisation did not oppose the peace process, but opposed the American conditions placed on the Palestinians to participate in the form that it did in Madrid.

"Jerusalem representatives and Palestinians in the diaspora must be included in the negotiations if there is to be negotiations on their national rights within international legitimacy," Mr. Hawatimah stressed.

Sixty per cent of the Palestinian people in the diaspora and the Palestinians from Jerusalem cannot be ignored and they have the right to be represented at the negotiating table," he added.

"We must insist on a united delegation that would include all the Palestinian people everywhere, and if there is no positive response from Israel and the U.S., we should suspend the negotiations until this problem is solved through Arab, European and international help," Mr. Hawatimah said, adding that the terms of reference should be the Security Council resolutions that recognise the Palestinians as a people who had rights to represent themselves through their chosen legitimate representative, the PLO.

Mr. Hawatimah accused PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and his "conservative" supporters of deviating from the decisions of the Palestine National Council (PNC) and the Palestine Central Council (PCC) that all Palestinians must be represented at the peace conference. He said this "violation" had deepened the split among the PLO and the Palestinian people.

"We lost what we could have gained from the outset of (U.S. Secretary of State James) Baker's shuttles to the region, because he (Mr. Baker) repeatedly stated that there would be no peace conference without the Palestinians," said Mr. Hawatimah.

He added that it was not too late "to put the train on the right track because if we ride a train coach that travels according to the mood of the American driver, we should not be hostage to his mood because it could crash. We should participate in the movement of this train by putting it on the right track."

Using the metaphor of the train, Mr. Hawatimah said that the Palestinian leadership had decided to participate according to the American conditions because they feared missing the train "even if it meant riding in the third class coach." He described this policy as "adventurous that could lead to destructive results."

"There is no need to fear missing the train after it passed its 'ninth station' in Madrid because no one will ask them to get off, and neither will we," Mr. Hawatimah said. "But we call on them to return to our legitimate decisions (of the PNC and PCC) by putting the process on the right track in the next train stations. Only then will we be ready to be part of the negotiating team in this process."

The Palestinian leaders considered Mr. Baker's eight peace shuttles to the region as eight stations and Madrid was the ninth.

Mr. Hawatimah also said that combined efforts between the Jordanian and Palestinian negotiators should insist on linking the issue of Israeli settlements to suspending the negotiations until the Jewish state actually stops them. Mr. Hawatimah referred to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's public statements that the settlements would continue and that he did not intend to "give up one inch" of the territories.

"The settlements also pose a demographic and security threat to Jordan, where the East Bank would find itself forced with an influx from the West Bank, especially that there still exists a large Israeli school of thought that believes Jordan is Palestine," noted Mr. Hawatimah.

He added that negotiating the status of Palestinian refugees in the multilateral talks rather than in the bilateral talks between the Israelis and Palestinians also posed a threat.

Mr. Hawatimah said that to turn the issue of Palestinian refugees into a regional issue and not a Palestinian problem, with support of international resolutions, could mean absorbing Palestinians into the countries where they reside rather than to practise their right of return.

The Palestinian leader also called for Palestinian insistence on changing the agenda in the next round of bilateral negotiations of discussion on self-rule for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip "through guarantees of linkage to stopping settlements and the right to self-determination."

"Only by reforming the delegation to include all Palestinians can we propose an agenda according to Security Council resolutions dealing with the land for peace formula, dismantling and stopping the settlements, self-determination and the right of refugees to return to their home," Mr. Hawatimah stressed, insisting that the representation was linked to the substance that would be negotiated with the Israelis.

He said that holding an Arab summit that includes all members of the Arab League was now necessary and could help in reaching what he described as a common platform to "protect Palestinian, Jordanian and Arab interests."

DFLP 'Leading Force' in Peace Bid

JN1111092191 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Nov 91 pp 1, 14

[By Sa'd al-Silawi]

[Text] Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], has asserted that the DFLP was the leading force in calling for a search for peaceful solutions based on a balance of interests. He added that the DFLP was among the first to present the PLO national program. In a frank dialogue with SAWT AL-SHA'B, Hawatimah said that the DFLP had contributed to drafting the resolutions of the Palestine National Council [PNC] in 1988, the Palestinian peace initiative, and the recent PNC resolutions.

Nayif Hawatimah said: We agreed on specific resolutions, but, regrettably, a certain current in the PLO did not honor these common resolutions and went to the negotiations alone. He added: The DFLP seeks peace and wants to participate in the peace process, provided that the delegation at the negotiating table represents all of the Palestinian people, both within and outside the occupied territory, including Jerusalem, in accordance with the resolutions of the PNC and the PLO Central Council and the will of the Palestinian people.

Commenting on whether the DFLP will suspend its membership in the PLO Executive Committee, Hawatimah said: This issue is not on the agenda of the DFLP leadership now. All possibilities are open. It all depends on the other course in the PLO, the course that violated the resolutions of the PNC and the PLO Central Council and went to the peace conference alone.

Regarding the Arab performance at the Madrid peace conference, Hawatimah said that this performance could have been much better; however, Arab coordination did not exist throughout the eight months preceding the negotiations or during Baker's tours of the region. Thus, the Arabs arrived in Madrid without a common course to present at the negotiating table. Regrettably, coordination took place only in Madrid.

Commenting on differences among the PLO factions, Hawatimah said: There is a real and painful division in the ranks of the PLO and the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people in the diaspora, he added, do not feel that they are partners in the ongoing negotiations; they

feel that no one represents them. There is a political division within the occupied territory as well—strikes and counter strikes, demonstrations and counter demonstrations. All of this should be resolved through a return to national unity and PLO institutions, Hawatimah added.

OPEC Affairs

OPEC Secretary General on Oil Conference

PM1411142691 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 10 Nov 91 p 8

[Interview with OPEC Secretary General Dr. Subroto by Ibrahim Khayyat in Vienna; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Khayyat] How would you assess the success of the 13th international oil conference?

[Subroto] The conference was a success. It was a success with regard to the results achieved. The previous conference, four years ago, was attended by no more than half the number of people who participated this time, which was nearly 2,800. Hundreds of contributions and studies were presented at the conference. An attendance rate of 80 percent was maintained right to the last day. If anything, this proves that the participants considered the conference very important to them and to the oil world and its industry.

The fourth point, which is very important, is the nature of the atmosphere that characterized the dialogue between producers and consumers and oil companies and power-generating and refining companies. It really earned my admiration and deserves appreciation and is proof of the conference's success. [passage omitted]

[Khayyat] What is your opinion of the plan proposed by Argentine President Carlos Menem on the first day of the conference to enable oil companies to invest in Argentina?

[Subroto] President Menem explained and clarified his new plan, and I believe that it will interest many people. He called on foreign companies to provide capital and technology to Argentina, but it did not happen. Since he has taken that step, the Argentine president should encourage scientific research at the same time, but this is impossible in practice because of the Argentine economy's capabilities. [passage omitted]

[Khayyat] How do you see OPEC's future, and will it dominate world markets?

[Subroto] Its future is good, since demand will continue to increase by 800,000-1,000,000 barrels a day annually [as published]. The non-OPEC states' output is expected to remain unchanged. The only supplies that can meet market demands will come from the OPEC states alone. As for your question about OPEC's domination, that is, its capacity to meet the market's needs, the answer is "yes."

[Khayyat] How long do you think OPEC will continue to dominate the markets?

[Subroto] At least 80-100 years. [passage omitted]

Egypt

Musa: Bilateral Talks Likely in 'Last 10 Days'

NC1411185991 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1830 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa has stated that Egypt is currently holding extensive contacts to give momentum to the peace efforts. He affirmed that the date and venue of the bilateral negotiations have yet to be determined, but they are likely to be resumed in the last 10 days of November. He added that these negotiations will be followed by the multilateral negotiations, which are expected to be held next month.

Musa made these remarks following a meeting with the U.S. and British ambassadors in Cairo. Musa earlier met with the Italian ambassador in Cairo to discuss preparations for President Mubarak's visit to Italy on Monday.

Syria 'Should' Attend Multilateral Talks

NC1411225591 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa has asked the EC countries to play an effective role in the Arab-Israeli talks, the objective of which is to establish peace in the Middle East.

In an interview with the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN, Mr. 'Amr Musa expressed his hope that positive results can be realized for the peace process, especially since it has started yielding its results despite objections by Syria and the Palestinians to starting the multilateral talks.

He explained that Syria believes Israel must withdraw first before multilateral talks can begin. The foreign minister said Egypt understands the Syrian viewpoint, but the latter should attend the meetings and bring up these issues.

The foreign minister clarified that the Palestine question has now become easier than other items in the talks. He pointed out that it is not possible to split up the issue of the territories, but we can split up the various stages of the solution. He affirmed that any system of autonomy must include East Jerusalem.

Musa affirmed that the continued settlement in the occupied territories is considered a huge obstacle to peace. He pointed out the differences in interpretations of Security Council Resolution 242. He stressed the need for continuing dialogue in the hope that solutions to all problems and different interpretations can be found.

Musa called for linking the various Arab orders with the world order.

PLO's 'Abbas Makes Statement on Talks in Cairo

NC1411194891 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1915 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Cairo, 14 Nov (MENA)—PLO Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas, alias Abu-Mazin, and the delegation accompanying him left Cairo this evening after a visit to Egypt which lasted several days.

In a predeparture statement, Abu-Mazin said that the Palestinian delegation held talks with the Egyptian side and evaluated the first stage of the peace conference in Madrid. They also exchanged opinions on the subjects to be negotiated over in the next stage.

'Stronger' U.S. Measures Against Israel Urged

NC1511070991 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0600 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Cairo, 15 Nov (MENA)—The newspaper AL-AHRAM has vehemently criticized provocative Israeli measures that betray a latent desire to undermine the entire Middle East peace process. The paper says the Israeli Knesset's odd decision considering the Syrian Golan Heights outside the range of negotiations and urging continued settlement building is an example of these provocative measures.

The paper, in a commentary today, says a few hours before the Knesset decision was passed the Israeli Housing Ministry announced that it would allocate 36 percent of its 1992 budget for building new houses for Jewish settlers in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Syrian Golan Heights.

AL-AHRAM says Arabs, faced with such blatant provocations, should renew their commitment to the peace process and thwart Israel's attempt to engage them in vituperations that would only poison the atmosphere and end up aborting the peace process.

AL-AHRAM calls on Arabs to draw the attention of the entire world community, including the United States, to this abnormal Israeli conduct. The paper says it is high time the U.S. Administration took stronger measures than it took when it postponed loan guarantees to Israel.

AL-AHRAM concludes by saying that whereas the world is looking forward to peace and the Arabs are vigorously pursuing a course of peace, Israel alone is speaking of annexation and settlement.

Libyan Official on Relations, Other Issues

JN1211200291 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1745 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Interview with Ahmad Qadhdhaf-al-Dam, coordinator general of Egyptian-Libyan relations, by Mustafa Bakri in Cairo; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bakri] Mr. Ahmad Qadhdhaf al-Dam, coordinator general of Egyptian-Libyan relations, the Egyptian

newspapers have recently commented on some individual incidents that occurred along the Egyptian-Libyan border, and you have had contacts with the Egyptians in this regard. First, what about these incidents, and how do you interpret some Egyptian journalists' violent criticism of these incidents and of some Libyan officials?

[Qadhdhaf al-Dam] I am happy with all that has been written on this issue, because I believe, or at least wish, that it was written out of concern for these relations. I would like to assure our people in Egypt and Libya that we are marching ahead, and that what is taking place in terms of intrigues is something to be expected. Plotting against these relations, which have become stronger during President Husni Mubarak's era, is only to be expected; however, all sides should know that there is no room for this during President Husni Mubarak's era, especially since we have realized that there are better ways to settle differences and problems, which are only natural. I would like to say that there is no chance for retreat. After the Egyptian People's Assembly and the people's congresses endorsed the 10 agreements that enable the two countries' citizens to reside, travel, and to own property in both countries, which are unprecedented among the Arab countries, it is no longer possible to torpedo these constitutional relations. Every day we bolster these relations through the construction of bridges, roads, railroads, power lines, and telephones. We have restored cohesion between the united people. Many may not know that there are more than 12 million citizens of Libyan origin residing in Egypt. After the restoration of relations, more than a million Egyptian citizens arrived in Libya, where we do not discriminate between our own and Egyptian territory. He who sees this magnificent picture and these joint interests, the social or economic interests, and tampers with them cannot be affiliated with this nation. He who is hostile to Egypt is hostile to Libya. We welcome positive, objective, and constructive criticism; however, slander is no longer accepted by citizens who view these slanderous statements with disgust.

I would like to stress that although Egypt and Libya have different views on some political issues and on relations with the Zionist enemy, we agree on objectives. We will always take into consideration the higher strategic interests which we agree upon, as well as the interests of the masses who will continue to exist and who are the owners of these interests. In fact, we have learned lessons from the past, and I call on all sides to learn lessons from the stage that had a negative impact on relations between the united people. These negative impacts did not succeed in breaking us apart, however. Relations became stronger from the first day they were restored, and they were not undermined by what was said during the bad years. These relations belong to this nation. We are just like north and south Yemen, one country with our capital in Cairo. Our confidence in the Arab masses in Egypt, and in the clarity and sincerity of President Mubarak, has no limits.

[Bakri] But, Mr. Ahmad can we now say that such issues have already been resolved?

[Qadhdhaf al-Dam] They are over. We have a joint operations room to follow all such issues. In fact, they are fewer than we even expected; however, some media blowing them out of proportion is a different story, which we know full well, and we know how to deal with this.

[Bakri] What about the conditions of some Egyptians in Libya?

[Qadhdhaf al-Dam] They are Libyans in Libya, just as the Libyan in Egypt is an Egyptian, and so forth and so on.

[Bakri] Mr. Ahmad, a French court has indicted Libya for the bombing of a French DC-10 plane in Africa. What do you say to this?

[Qadhdhaf al-Dam] I heard about that, and like other people, was surprised. In fact, I am not involved in this issue, but as far as I know, the subject was brought up between the justice ministries in Libya and France. Libya officially asked France to provide it with whatever evidence it has, and it assigned the attorney general's office to defend Libya against the allegations and the campaign launched by some media regarding this issue. I am really surprised at what interest Libya might have in shooting down passenger planes in Africa. The Jamahiriyah feels strong sympathy with the families of the victims because it knows how shocking it is to lose relatives. In 1972, we lost a passenger plane; it was deliberately shot down by the Zionist enemy's fighter planes without any justification whatsoever. At that time, we did not hear anything like the noise we are hearing today, although the criminal was known and was caught red-handed. We do not rule out that this unethical act was meant to harm Libya's reputation. We, therefore, are eager to insist on revealing the truth this time. We are ready to cooperate with France to the end to expose the real perpetrator for all the world to see.

I would also like to remind you that in 1986, the United States raided Libya under the pretext that we had bombed a night club frequented by U.S. soldiers in Berlin. One year later, investigations proved that Libya had nothing to do with the bombing. After they raided Libya, they discovered that the country was innocent of the charge. The charge was fabricated by the intelligence service to create excuses for attacking the revolution in Libya. Regrettably, the United States refused to apologize to the Libyans or to provide reparations to the families of the victims. We are the victims of organized terrorism aimed at silencing the voice of the Jamahiriyah, which [words indistinct], the voice that wants to unite the nation and restore its pride and dignity. Enemy forces are trying to kill the conscience of this nation using unethical means and to distort the image of the revolution, which calls for the launching of Jamahiriyah systems, for the establishment of popular authorities,

and for the liberation of popular needs. Had this revolution not been honest, it would not have continued for some 25 years with such enthusiasm and popular tumult, despite repeated and continuous enemy campaigns. If they are sincere, we call on them to sit with us and engage in a dialogue. We are ready to open all old and new dossiers of these issues; that is if they want the truth. If, on the other hand, they want to bring the revolution to its knees, then we, as de Gaulle said, are too weak to negotiate our rights and the fate of our nation.

[Bakri] Mr. Ahmad, you have recently visited the Gulf Cooperation Council states, and you delivered to their leaders messages from Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, dealing with Libya's position on the security arrangements in the Gulf. What can you tell us about the results of your talks with those leaders?

[Qadhdhaf al-Dam] The leader of the revolution sent messages, through me, to his brother leaders in the Gulf. The purpose was to consult with them on the security and future of the nation at this sensitive juncture. We have always thought that our strong fortress, as Arabs, is our nation and its formidable resources and our unlimited self-confidence. We are continuing the dialogue with all Arab countries; this is our role. We welcome the views of others; they are entitled to their views, and, of course, we cannot deprive them of this right. They also respect our right, which does not stem from the personal interest of brother Mu'ammar, but from a revolutionary vision that knows no despair.

Libya

People's Bureau Denies Lockerbie Involvement

LD1511110591 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1030 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Tripoli, 15 Nov (JANA)—The People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation issued a statement today. Here is the text:

The People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation was amazed to receive the British and U.S. statements in which they accused what they called Libyan elements of involvement in the regrettable incident which led to the crash of the Pan American plane in 1988.

As the People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation categorically denies any Libyan connection with the aforementioned incident or any knowledge of it by the Libyan authorities, it emphasizes anew its condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and expresses the Libyan people's sympathy and solidarity with the families of the victims of the aforementioned incident.

When a small developing country like Libya is accused by big countries, like the United States and Britain, it reserves its full right to defend itself before an unbiased and neutral court and before the United Nations, International Court of Justice, and others.

Pointing out that the language of threats does not respond to the requirement of our times and that the alternatives to such language are dialogue, proof, and logic, the People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation emphasizes that no contact has taken place with the judicial authorities concerned in Libya to investigate the truth and check these accusations.

We call on the United States and Britain to apply the logic of law, wisdom, and reason by resorting to neutral international investigation committees or to the International Court of Justice.

Envoy to France Reacts

LD1511103791 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Interview with Sa'ib Mujbir, ambassador to Paris, in Paris and U.S. Senator Joseph Lieberman in Washington by correspondent Sue Cameron in London; from the "Newsnight" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Cameron] Mr. Mujbir, do you think it is likely that your country will hand back the two men who have been accused to stand trial?

[Mujbir] I don't think so. Nobody surrenders his own nationals, and this way surrenders his sovereignty. We don't believe in the whole thing. We have been claimed before to be the instigators or the perpetrators of terrorist attacks that took place in Rome, Vienna, and the discotheque in Berlin.

[Cameron] Have you seen the evidence against these two men in this particular case?

[Mujbir] At that time, President Reagan said that he had irrevocable, solid proof that Libya was behind it. But, as the Germans now are saying, and the Italians have said a long time ago, the Austrians have said a long time ago, that Libya had nothing to do with it. So, this is a political thing. This is a lynching that's going on to bring down Libya on its knees, and it has nothing to do with it. Had they had good faith, and they really were looking for the truth, they should have contacted us and talked to us from the very beginning. We would have cooperated in every way we know how and every way necessary to uncover the truth. They have, instead, chosen to talk to us through the media, and in a hostile manner that says condemn the Libyans now and try them later.

[Cameron] And therefore, you will not be handing them over?

[Mujbir] No. [passage omitted]

[Cameron] Mr. Mujbir, what is your attitude to the possibility, perhaps a strong possibility, of retaliation,

either through economic sanctions of some kind or, as you've just heard the senator say, perhaps by force?

[Mujbir] Well I think this is exactly all along what they had in their mind. It took a long time to decide against whom to stick this charge. Now they find the easiest scapegoat is Libya. I don't speak for the justice authorities in Libya, but I think what should be done is that the whole thing be given to the Libyan authorities, the Libyan authorities look into it, or should look into it. If they find there is really a case against two men, these two men, the Libyan justice is sufficient and is capable to try them and to mete the right justice on them. But to tell me to give you my nationals for you to try, I personally would not accept it of my government. [passage omitted]

[Cameron] Mr. Mujbir, do you think that there is not a reasonable chance that these people could get a fair trial and could thereby prove their innocence?

[Mujbir] I don't think. They have already been condemned, and their country has already been. Through three years the drums of lynching and prejudgment has been going on, and I don't think that this is the case [sentence as heard]. Like I said, I don't speak for the justice authorities. I don't know what is their action. I am sure they don't possess, yet, the facts—what they call the facts—to make a decision on the matter. But, if he says that he [Lieberman] is not satisfied that these people are tried in Libya, it only proves my point of view. What is needed is not justice....[Lieberman tries to interrupt] I have interrupted you sir. What is needed is not justice, is not to find out what the people did this crime or not. What is needed is to implicate Libya, to condemn Libya, and to make the charges stick.

Al-Qadhdhafi on Domestic, International Events

LD0911232191 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1935 GMT 9 Nov 91

["Dialogue" program: interview with Libyan leader Mu'ammar al- Qadhdhafi by program presenters Hamraoui Habib Chaouki and Rabah Khoudri in al-Qadhdhafi's tent in Tripoli—live]

[Excerpts] [Chaouki] Ladies and gentlemen, peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you. Welcome to the "Dialogue" program. I told you during the last "Dialogue" program that there would be a surprise. The surprise is that I was surprised by the quick response of the leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi to the "Dialogue" program, which invited him to be the guest of Algeria. For the first time, the "Dialogue" program goes outside the boundaries of the homeland to hospitable Tripoli to meet with Col. Mu'ammar al- Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution.

Welcome, sir, as an honorable guest of the Algerian people and all those who are watching Algerian television. I also greet the brotherly Libyan people. You were born in 1942 in Sirte. You started your elementary and preparatory education in Sabha. You faced great difficulties in continuing your education. You were subjected to imprisonment, expulsion, and persecution in view of your liberation activities which were characterized by the Arab unionist trend, and you became more [word indistinct] when you led demonstrations in protest against the secession of Syria from Egypt in the early Sixties. [passage omitted]. Welcome, leader, as a guest of the "Dialogue" program and the Algerian masses. Between the colonel, the leader, the thinker, and the proponent, which is closest to Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi as a person?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Regarding colonel, it is a rank, surrounded as it is by soldiers and officers. Immediately after the revolution broke out my rank was that of lieutenant. I had the rank of a lieutenant when I led the revolution. So much for colonel. As for leader, this concerns the revolution, the leadership of the revolution. As for thinker; we try to think as much as possible. Sometimes I find myself thinking. Proponent—well, I champion the internationalist and pan-Arab cause which I call for. [passage omitted]

[Chaouki] Well, Colonel, let us go deeper into theory and examine democracy. If belonging to a party is treason, as you say, and if representation is a lie, and that there is no representation of the people, how is democracy set up in practice?

[al-Qadhdhafi] By the people. The (?slogan says: He who joins a party commits treason; representation is a lie; there is no representation of the people. Therefore, democracy is set up by the people, with people's congresses and people's committees. There is no representation, partisanship or [word indistinct] in this. There is no representation of the people in this. The people's congresses are the whole people. Anyone who reaches age 18, man or woman, is a member of the people's congresses, which have the power.

For example, the legislative power, which is in the hands of legislative assemblies belongs in the Jamahiry regime to all the people, to the people's congresses. The legislative power is in the hands of the people's committees which are elected by the people's congresses. The latter charge the former with implementing their decisions only. [passage omitted]

[Chaouki] Well, let us speak about another subject: Arab unity, for example. Is Col. Mu'ammar al- Qadhdhafi as enthusiastic about this as he was 22 years ago?

[al-Qadhdhafi] Naturally, and even more. If Arab unity is not realized amicably, then we must instigate it through revolution and violence. Arab unity is a necessity. We cannot forgo our future for the sake of rulers, governments, partisans, those who seek power, agents, reactionaries, and defeatists. Arab unity is a necessity without which the Arab nation cannot have an existence in the future. We would then live marginally; we would once again live as hunters, shepherds, or beggars. No, we are entering a dangerous world. The Arab nation must be

united, either amicably or we have decided to instigate it by violence and revolution. We do not permit somebody to set up borders inside the Arab homeland, dividing the one Arab people, so that he can become an emperor. The masses will not permit this. One of these days, we will be marching from the ocean to the Gulf, and we will destroy all the borders, checkpoints, tribes, rulers and all these scepters in order to achieve our unity. This is our right. We do not permit any separatist or regionalist to split us up, to take us backwards.

Are we waiting for orders from Tel-Aviv or Washington to unite? They want us to be subservient to them, [words indistinct] that is to be their agents, to be in their new international order, to be in the free economy, the capitalism, the exploitation, prostration, the openness of our markets, that is so that we become a consumer market for them [two words indistinct]. We want to determine our own fate.

[Khoudri] Well, Colonel, welcome again as a guest of the "Dialogue" program. Our talking about unionist spirit necessarily brings us to talking about the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU]. After differences of positions over the Gulf crisis, and other differences over the Madrid peace conference, the AMU had one representative in Madrid and several voices outside Madrid. Are not you embarrassed by this position at this very moment?

[al-Qadhdhafi] Naturally, from the point of view of formal theory this is embarrassing, but it is realistic. First, people did not go to the Madrid conference for the sake of Palestine, and the Palestinian people. The proof to this is that there was no talk about the Palestinians who were occupied in 1948, but there was, through the Arabs who spoke at the confence, a recognition that Israeil existed in 1948. In reality, it was Palestine.

The terrorist Shamir embarrassed them and silenced them when he said to them: if you are going to recognize us when we would have left the Palestinian territories, why did not you recognize us before we occupied the Palestinian territories? They have discredited all the struggle of the Arab nation and the sacrifices of the Palestinian people before 1967.

The struggle was for Palestine, for Tel-Aviv, Haifa, Akka, and Yafa. These are not Jewish, even if we were to go back to old books, the Torah and the Bible. These speak about Jerusalem, not about Akka. The Torah does not mention Akka, Lodd, and Ramallah. It speaks about the village, Jerusalem which at that time was a small place above western Jerusalem.

The struggle is for Palestine. Those who went to Madrid did not speak about Palestine or the people of Palestine. Each of them spoke about his own concern. One has a regional problem, one has a problem of government, one has a problem with his neighbors, one was seeking U.S. favors so that it would stand on his side, one was seeking U.S. loans, one was trying to please the United States through sympathy to the Israelis. These are all those who went to Madrid. There was no national issue about which they have spoken, and this is the cause of the contradiction. [words indistinct]. There was real contradiction. Each was going according to his own reality, [words indistinct] the Palestinian people.

I do not want to embarrass my brothers the Arab rulers, whether from the Maghreb or from the Middle East, but I can say to the Arab masses [words indistinct]: Why did this person or other take part in the conference after they insisted they would not? [word indistinct]. It was not at all for the sake of the Palestinian cause, nor was it for the sake of the Palestinian people. It was for the issue to be [words indistinct].

[Khoudri] Colonel, we spoke about Madrid, and the point at issue is the AMU, namely the possibility of the success or failure of Maghreb unity. For which possibility do you stand?

[al-Qadhdhafi] In practice, the rulers decide this politically, and after them it is the peoples who decide. [Passage omitted: it is not by prayers that the fate of the Arab nation will be decided].

The rulers must be under the power of the masses, and the masses must realize that Maghreb unity and then Arab unity are a necessity, a necessity concerning food, drinking, clothing, housing, the future, freedom, and life. [Passage omitted: rulers fear the masses].

The peoples must be awake. At the Casablanca Conference—naturally, this does not concern Morocco which had just played host to the emergency Arab summit in Casablanca; what I am saying does not concern Morocco; it concerns the Arabs that were meeting in [word indistinct]; treason was committed. How many times, [word indistinct] the masses gathering outside, clapping hands for the positions [words indistinct] treason in this building, the recognition of Resolution 242. They know that Resolution 242 does not recognize the Palestinian people. It considers the Palestinians as refugees, and that houses should be built for them, [words indistinct]; build houses for them, in camps.

This is treason. Resolution 242 does speak about the Palestinian people. It speaks about Palestinian refugees. Everybody at Casablanca accepted Resolution 242; I was the only one to reject it. [words indistinct] 242 and 338. We have nothing to do with them. This is a defeat imposed on the confrontation states, and these resolutions were the result of the military defeat. You Mauritania, [words undistinct], you Tunisia, and you Libya, have you fought? You have not fought. Why then should we accept the decisions of those who fought and were defeated?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] We say to the masses: This is a betrayal. [sentence indistinct] What I mean is that when the rulers meet they should always be afraid of the masses which congregate outside. One can force oneself into the hall and tear up the paper and tear apart those who sometime sign the papers and one can impose on them this and that.

If the AMU is going to succeed first the rulers have to be under the authority of the masses. The masses should be aware of the fact that the issue is a national issue and that it is an issue of the AMU unity and an issue of the Arab unity.

[Khoudri] I understand Your Excellency the Colonel that the AMU rulers shoulder a great historical responsibility...

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Of course.

[Khoudri] ...to avoid obstacles and to proceed toward making the AMU project a success.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [words indistinct] We should tell the masses who did not shoulder the responsibility and who committed treason and who did (? not want unity) and who is betraying the masses. The masses should be made ready to make the assault.

[Khoudri] Thank you, Your Excellency the Colonel.

[Hamraoui] [words indistinct] The French courts recently accused a Libyan personality of being involved in blowing up a French plane. What is your opinion on the matter?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] If the words originated in a court or from a judge one might take them into consideration. We would then face them with proofs which confirm our innocence. If the issue is a legal one we are not afraid of it. We wish the issue were a legal one and in court so that we all appear before it and all the sides and all the accused can defend themselves. We are certain of our innocence. But what had appeared in Algeria is an issue which is 100 percent refuted.It is not at all a legal case.

First, they mentioned the name of some person and they said he is the brother-in-law of al-Qadhdhafi. He is not my brother-in-law. This is one point.

The other, the story that the man whoever he may be is the brother-in-law of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, for instance; this is not a legal case. This a political and social talk—an attack. This information is supplied by Libyan spies who are fugitives and who work for foreign intelligence services. They are the ones who are making this story about the brother-in-law. The brother-in-law question has no relationship with law or the judiciary.

The French law does not know who is al-Qadhdhafi's brother-in-law and who is a relation of al-Qadhdhafi. This shows that there are spies who gave this information and this information was published. This information by spies and and not legal information. We do not recognize it at all. [Sentence indistinct]

The other point is that this man or this kinship is not known to the judge. Let us suppose that some one is my brother-in-law. What has it got to do with the plane issue and how does the judge know it? We are questioning the judge. The judge now is in the dock. The French judge is, as far as we are concerned, in the dock. Where did he receive the information that this or that man is a brother-in-law? What is its connection with the issue? Have we ever judged Mitterrand or D'Estaing for what his son or daughter had done? Their children have been subverting Europe. And Carter's brother has been subverting America. Bush and his sons and daughters are subverting the world. Have we ever judged them or said this is the son of this or that man? [sentence indistinct]

This has exploded the issue completely from the legal aspect; that is to say; the story that the person was brother in law of someone. You can attack Qadhdhafi from the political aspect; then it is not a legal case or who blew up or not blew up the plane. If the attack is a personal, a plot or attack against al-Qadhdhafi it becomes a political question. It is the same as if one is attacked in a newspaper or anywhere else. It is a different thing it is not a legal matter.

Second, the case was discredited from the legal point of view. I challenge any judge. I can appoint a lawyer who can take up these things and refute all these opinions. [Repetitive sentence omitted]

The information was supplied by Libyan spies who serve the French or U.S. intelligence. (? Nothing else) I did (? not) speak about this case before because it was absurd and Libya is far remote from it. A plane blew up in Africa. What has it got to do with Libya? But after you put the question to me I wanted to explain the truth to you.

[Hamraoui] Please forgive us; perhaps some Algerian newspapers (? were bearing a grudge) and I am not part of the that press. (? I thought it was relevant) to ask a high level source in the Jamahiriyyah to clarify the matter a bit further or to answer some people here or there.

[Hamraoui] Your Excellency, Colonel: In the past two years, events have happened very quickly. The Berlin Wall came down, the socialist camp collapsed, and a war took place in the Gulf and is now over. Did you imagine that all these events, which have so much impact and carry so many contradictions, would occur so rapidly?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] All this is mentioned in the Green Book. If we open the Green Book and read what it said so many years ago, we will find that what is now taking place is exactly what the Green Book predicted. [passage omitted] As far as I am concerned, this proves what the Green Book said. The analyses made by the Green Book are 100 percent accurate. Therefore, I was not surprised. It is not over yet. I know that America itself will become like Lebanon. The races living there will fight one another and America will be finished. Let America's agents know that they should not bet too much on America. One of these days, America will surprise them and will become just like the USSR. The same happened to those who bet on Moscow [laughs].

God willing, there will be a Lebanonization of America [Labnana—division of the country into sects and groups]. All the states that are constituted by various ethnic groups will be, for religious, economic, military,

ideological, or manmade reasons, torn apart by ethnic conflicts until every ethnic group becomes independent; in other words, when the social factor inevitably triumphs over the political factor. This was written in black and white in the Green Book over 10 years ago, 15 years to be more precise. Now we see what is happening in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. This will happen to all ethnic groups. Even Britain will break up. The struggle will begin in Scotland, Wales, Britain, the big island, [words indistinct]. These are nationalities. Scotland is now demanding independence. Britain will be torn apart, so will Europe. The conflict over Alsace and Lorraine will resume between Germany and France. We advised them and told them: If you want to create a state for the Jews, do it in Alsace and Lorraine as a buffer state between Germany and France. Europeans fought one another for 1000 years over Alsace and Lorraine. Fine, we told them, you sympathize with the Jews, then create a state for them in Alsace and Lorraine. Out of sympathy for the Jews, they should have created a state for them in [word indistinct] on the Volga River, or they should give them back their state in the Baltics or let the Americans give the Jews Alaska to live in. No, they wanted to create a state, but at the expense of the Arabs and at the expense of the Palestinian people and not at their own expense, because we only sympathize with them the Jews. [sentence as heard] It should be at the Arabs' expense.

This is the logic behind it. This is what makes Arab unity a necessity. We must tell the other Arabs to say no and then others will know that the word no has power behind it from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf.

[Hamraoui] But, Your Excellency, Colonel, there is not just the nationality issue in the world. There was a war that took place in [word indistinct]. Some people talk about a new international order. There are many new resolutions that mark the world now.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I am sorry, I do not understand the question.

[Hamraoui] I mean you focus your talk, Your Excellency, Colonel, on nationalities and on the Green Book's view about this issue, but there are other issues in the world. A war broke out in the Gulf and is now over. It resulted in the new changes we know. There is also the collapse of a camp that used to represent one of the two poles of the bipolarity, and so on.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Naturally, the Soviet Union collapsed because of ethnic conflicts. Moreover, the Green Book never said that the dynamics of history are just nationalities. The Green Book says that any state can be built on a military, economic, political, or ideological basis. This means that there are other factors that make up a state, but it is the ethnic factor that eventually has the last word. The map of the world can be shaped for military reasons. People like Napoleon, Genghis Khan, and Alexander the Macedonian shaped the military map of the world—but did it last? No, it did not last; it was torn apart. [passage omitted] In the end, a Turk is a Turk, an Arab is an Arab, a Persian is a Persian, an Italian is an Italian, a Greek is a Greek, a Frenchman is a Frenchman. Christianity did not unite them. This is the conflict. The colonial interventions for military, economic, and political reasons do exist, but I say that in the end what triumphs is the ethnic factor.

[Hamraoui] Colonel, how do you assess your relations with your neighbors? How do you manage your relations with your neighbors? For example, between Libya and Algeria?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Algeria has a special place for us. We regard Algeria as a sacred land where the blood of a million and a half martyrs was shed. [passage omitted on Algerian struggle against French colonialism, praise for Algerian people] We have always held Algeria in that position, although sometimes we find that familial ties with Tunisia and Egypt are stronger because of the same thrones and families. However, regarding pan-Arabism and revolution, we have always been closer to Algeria throughout the past years, particularly when the situation in Tunisia was [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

In 1971 and 1972, Algeria had an oil crisis. Libya gave Algeria credits of over 500 million [currency not specified]. It gave that to Algeria immediately. Two-thirds of the credits have been repaid; sorry, two-fifths. More than three-fifths of these credits have not been repaid. They are still outstanding. Libya gave 100 million [currency not specified], then 100 million, 145 million, and more than 200 million. The first and second 100 millions were repaid, but the 145 and [word indistinct] 200; more than 350 million has not been repaid so far.

There were other crises, during which we provided Algeria with a billion, that made it a billion and a half in the form of facilities. Four hundred million of this was taken out of Libyan reserves and 600 million was banking facilities. This makes a billion and a half. [figures as heard] [passage omitted]

[Hamraoui] [Words indistinct] Colonel, I have heard that the Algerian foreign minister has said that a dialogue could not be held with Europe or the West without Libya, or by isolating Libya from the AMU. This stance is the same as the one Algeria took during the U.S. raid on Tripoli. Does this mean that the blockade imposed on Libya has reached a degree of seriousness?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Their embargo has not affected us, and it will not affect us. We hope to isolate ourselves from the West, from its misfortunes, its wastes, consumptions and goods, and to rely on ourselves. Regarding the embargo, Libya has benefitted from it. It is a nominal embargo, because European firms [words indistinct], from Britain to Italy, are all working in Libya. America has deprived itself of the Libyan market and from billions. However, it is more a political issue than an economic one. The Libyan people saw the Algerian foreign minister yesterday and heard him on Libyan television, radio, and newspapers. The Libyan people saw the Algerian foreign minister defending Libya. Those who reject Libya are

rejecting cooperation with the AMU. This is to be expected from the Algerian foreign minister and from Algeria. In fact, for the sake of honesty, we have to say that President Chadli [words indistinct] and its Foreign Ministry have played a big role in rebuilding Libya's relations with the states with which bridges between us had collapsed, including African and European states. They played a big role in this. In fact, President Chadli personally played a big role in rebuilding these bridges [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Hamraoui] But Colonel, an observer guest of the Jamahiriyah sees that even this big bloackade imposed against Libya did not prevent the Jamahiriyah from realizing achievements such as the Great Man-Made River?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] As I said, it is formal. Its importance is more political than economical. From the economic point of view, we have not been affected. The more they boycott us, the better, so that we may rely on ourselves. Moreover, they have not done without the Libyan market. Their companies are working, and their workers are working in Libya, and any tender put out from Libya is the subject of a flurry on the part of all the Western companies that seek to have it. They compete over it. They laugh at America, and America, as a result of fallacious vanity, says: I have brought all Europe and the world together in a blockade against Libya. In fact, America lies; it knows that the Europeans have not boycotted Libya, and no one can follow this policy. They have harmed themselves. If they boycott us, they boycott us [words indistinct]. I, for one, hope that no Western goods are found in the Libyan markets. I wish for them to boycott us, so that Arab goods, or goods from Africa or Asia, may be found, better than their goods, and so that we may rely on ourselves.

[Hamraoui] Colonel, in the context of issues of blockade and relations, is there presently an improvement of the atmosphere between you and America?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] In reality, Algeria, Morocco, and Egypt are countries making efforts. They are the ones who are asking that we do something between Libya and America. On our part, we become the enemy of he who is hostile to us, and we befriend he who seeks our friendship. We are prepared to negotiate with America, to sit down with it on equal footing, to set up relations on the basis of equality, noninterference in others' affairs, respect for the territories and policies of others, halting the American official terrorist practices with America's fleets and violation of the Libyan territorial waters, and its official terrorism it is practicing against Libya. America should stop this. We are of the opinion that there is a possibility for an exchange of benefits between us and the American people. But the American Administration is always depriving the American people of such mutual benefits. We are indeed prepared to have relations with America, if these relations were to be of the kind that satisfies us. We have done nothing. We are staying in our own country, defending our independence, the unity of our nation, the cause of Palestine. They are the ones that committed an aggression against our homes, against us, with their fleets roaming our seas. They are the ones that support the Israeli enemy, whom they want to beat us. We have nothing to present to America, saying: We make concession of this and this. They are the ones that ought to stop their aggression and terrorism, and we are ready for [words indistinct] relations. [passage omitted]

[Hamraoui] Concerning the American raid against the Jamahiriyah, is there anything that you can say? Has your position become more rigid or has it calmed? Are your personal moral [words indistinct]?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] The raid was a source of provocation to us. It stirred anger in us, and had results contrary to those expected by Reagan, his administration, the Israelis, and Thatcher. They thought they it would bring them positive results, but it brought them negative results. After the raid, I saw a fierce and wrong savageness that understands only force; therefore, I am determined to see an Arab force that stands in the face of America. America may come out a second time and hit Libya. Another Reagan may appear; another Napoleon may appear; another Hitler may appear.

We must be [words indistinct] our children dying from bombs for no reason, with their bombs hitting our homes. Our sky must be forbidden to them. Libya, as a small state, has resisted, and caused them huge losses. We destroyed their Lampedosa base in southern Italy. It was the base of the U.S. Sixth Fleet that had directed the bombs against our homes. But America is supposed to have been destroyed, just as it had destroyed us. This will be possible only with Arab unity, with the Arab nation.

The raid made us angry and our international popularity increased, with all the peoples of the world and freemen of the world showing sympathy toward us. I saw that this world is a jungle in which one cannot live by relying on good will and innocence. We were innocent and they hit us with bombs. The results of the raid were contrary to what they expected.

[Hamraoui] Your Excellency, Colonel, I have a few more words to say, but your time is precious in view of your duties and preoccupations. If I asked you to say something about the Great Man-Made River?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I could say that it is the eighth wonder. We have given the world the eighth wonder.

[Hamaroui] What would you say if I just said Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] He is like a disciple of Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, in Poland. He is the one who tolled the bell for this earthquake that took place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. I consider him one of Walesa's disciples, who followed in Walesa's steps. Walesa was the one who started it in Poland and Gorbachev is his disciple. Everything Gorbachev does proves in the end that he is one of Walesa's disciples.

[Hamaroui] Well, what if I said Nelson Mandela

[Al-Qadhdhafi] He is the personality that suits Africa and the cause of South Africa. He is the right personality, in fact.

[Hamaroui] What if I said 1 November 1954 [date of the start of the Algerian liberation war]?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Honestly, this was the start of a sacrifice. One must be frank—and I do not want to be polite about this subject—it was the start of a great sacrifice. I now feel that, unfortunately, nothing has been gained in return. In other words, why should we sacrifice one and a half million martyrs? I have no reply why we made the sacrifice. Many states in Africa now find themselves in the same position as Algeria, yet they have not sacrificed one single martyr. There was the decade of independence in 1960, 1961, 1962, and so on. These sacrifices made by Algeria should have had a historical counterpart, just like it, on a par with it. It should have provoked an earthquake in the hearts of the Arabs, the Mediterranean Sea, and the world. The Algerian revolution should have continued until the liberation of Palestine. How did Algeria become so stunted in the end? We made enormous sacrifices in return for nothing.

[Hamaroui] Just for the record, Colonel, perhaps no other state would do what Algeria has done by inviting you, live, into the homes of its people and families. While you believe in the Arab people, I, for my part, believe the Algerian people who have a long road before them. I thank you, Excellency Colonel, for your frankness and for putting up with our questions and for accepting the invitation to take part in the program. God willing, we will meet again.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I thank you very much for this trust. I was extremely embarrassed to talk live. I greet my brothers in Algeria, one by one, on this occasion. I wish them all the best. I thank you. We are on the same road and in the same trench and we have the same fate and we will triumph, God willing. Our revolutionary struggle continues. [passage omitted]

Sudan

Libyan 'Honeymoon' at End; 'Silent Crisis' Exists

PM1411102491 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 10 Nov 91 pp 1, 4

['Uthman Mirghani report: "Libyan 'Fact-Finding' Mission to Khartoum; al-Qadhdhafi Did Not Receive al-Bashir; Libya Arranging Meeting With al-Mahdi"]

[Text] London—According to Arab diplomatic sources and Sudanese sources, the Libyan-Sudanese honeymoon appears to be at an end, as relations between the two countries are passing through a silent crisis exposed by the stifling petroleum shortages that the Sudanese capital has been suffering for a week now.

Although the Sudanese Government announced last Thursday that a trade agreement was signed with Libya whereby Sudan would export grain and meat to Libya in return for Libyan oil, there are numerous indications that clouds are gathering on the horizon of Libyan-Sudanese relations.

The first sign was that Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi did not receive Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir, chairman of the Sudanese Revolution Command Council [RCC], when the latter visited Tripoli last week accompanied by RCC member Bakri Hasan Salih, Finance Minister 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi, and the director of the Sudanese Petroleum Establishment. Lt. Gen. al-Bashir had only two meetings, with Major 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud and Colonel Abu-Bakr Yunis Jabir.

According to the diplomatic sources and some recent news agency reports, Tripoli strongly resents the fierce campaign launched by Dr. Hasan al-Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front [NIF], the main power behind the present Khartoum regime, against Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and extended beyond private meetings to public meetings. The reason for the campaign is that Dr. al-Turabi believes that Col. al-Qadhdhafi "heeded Egyptian insinuations" that cooled his enthusiasm for the Sudanese regime.

Col. al-Qadhdhafi tried to mediate between Sudan and Egypt, but the mediation failed to produce a summit meeting between President Husni Mubarak and Lt. Gen. 'Umar al-Bashir, and it did not go beyond an agreement to stop the two countries' media campaigns against each other.

Some Sudanese circles believe that in their meetings with Libyan officials the Egyptians concentrated on raising the issue of the NIF's control of al-Bashir's regime and the support extended by the NIF and the regime to the fundamentalist movements in the region.

Informed sources have revealed to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the meetings between Libyan officials and Major General al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih, Sudanese RCC deputy chairman, who visited Libya some time ago, were "extremely heated." They added that Libya recently sent a group of Libyan intelligence officers to Sudan on a "fact-finding" mission to explore the Sudanese regime's inclinations and plans regarding relations with Libya, its links with the NIF, and the situation in Sudan.

The sources said that Col. Abu-Bakr Yunis Jabir will visit Sudan shortly to meet with the Sudanese leadership and also with leaders of the opposition parties, and especially former Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi.

These meetings will be of major significance as far as relations between Libyan and Lt. Gen. al-Bashir's government are concerned if, as some sources say, Libya calls for steps to expand the government base and reduce the NIF's control of the government. That could bring the crisis out into the open.

Garang Forces Claim To Have Entered Darfur

PM1411145691 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 12 Nov 91 pp 1, 4

[Mu'awiyah Yasin report: "Garang Forces Claim To Have Entered Southern Darfur"]

[Excerpt] London—The Sudanese People's Liberation Movement [SPLM], led by Colonel John Garang, has announced that its forces, "in full combat formation, have entered southern Darfur" in western Sudan. A statement issued by the movement's spokesman in London, Dr. Richard Mula, said that Garang "appealed to all the armed opposition groups in Darfur to join the movement's forces that had arrived there."

The statement said that "what is happening in Darfur is not looting by armed gangs but rather an organized armed struggle to free the people of western Sudan from Khartoum's repression." It added that Darfur was currently gripped by fear.

Mula told AL-HAYAH the forces that entered Darfur include hundreds of fighters, but the Sudanese Government still insisted that it was confronting what it called "armed gangs of looters" which are terrorizing the area's population, for which it still blamed former governments.

There was no official response yesterday from Khartoum to the opposition's announcement, but an official at the Sudanese Embassy in London did tell AL-HAYAH that "if these reports were true, then the Sudanese Army would destroy Garang's forces, because Darfur is in an exposed area with no jungle or swamps, unlike the case in the south." [passage omitted]

Al-Bashir Says Rebels Surrendering

EA1411184091 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1515 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Khartoum, 13 Nov (SUNA)—Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, Revolution Command Council chairman, has denied that some rebel [Sudanese People's Liberation Army] remnants are approaching Darfur region near its border with Bahr al-Ghazal. He said this today at a meeting with leaders of the press and the news media.

Commenting on a statement issued by the rebel movement that rebel remnants had reached the outskirts of Darfur, his excellency said that this statement was intended to raise the morale of members of the rebel movement after scores of them had begun surrendering to the military command zones in Equatoria and Bahr al-Ghazal states. He said it was also a fact that 5,000 rebels had fled across the border to Uganda after the collapse of the delusions and lies by the movement concerning the liberation of Sudan. The rebel movement has exposed its [words indistinct].

Lt. Gen. 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir told the press and news media leaders today that 129 rebels defected from the rebel movement last week and surrendered to the Kaka garrison command. In Equatoria [words indistinct] they fought with the armed forces against the rebels, as well as around the towns of Bor and [words indistinct] and inflicted heavy losses on the rebels. His excellency said that [word indistinct] which infiltrated Bahr al-Ghazal state had sought their own destruction as the autumn had ended.

On other issues, Lt. Gen. 'Umar al-Bashir touched on the conference on peace and coexistence between religions which will be held on Saturday, 16 November, and which will be attended by people of all religions. He said it (?was being held) in Sudan because Sudan was a country which believed in peaceful coexistence between different religions. He said the idea of holding this conference came from Japan during his visit there, where he met a number of people from different religions and creeds who discussed with him the importance of peaceful coexistence between the different religions. He said the convening of the conference was a slap in the face of those who had been attempting to portray Sudan as a center of religious conflict.

*Restaffing of Foreign Ministry Continues

New Appointments, Dismissals Noted

92P40052A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Nov 91 p 4

[Text] Informed sources in Khartoum expect that in the next few days an announcement concerning the completion of the selection process for Sudanese ambassadors to possibly nine foreign capitals.

The day before yesterday, six new ambassadors were appointed to the Sudanese Foreign Ministry. They are: Ahmad Sulayman al-Muhami, Mahdi Ibrahim, Qutbi al-Mahdi, Hashim al-Sayyid, Dr. Isma'il al-Haj Musa, and Ja'far Hasan Salih. At the same time, the dismissal of eight ambassadors was announced. They are: Hashim Muhammad Salih, former Sudanese ambassador in Addis Ababa; 'Abd-al-Mun'im Muhammad Mustafa, the current Sudanese ambassador in Prague; Mustafa Hasan, the current Sudanese ambassador in Mogadishu; Taj al-Sirr Muhammad 'Abbas; Taha Abu-al-Qasim; Muhammad Ahmad Mirghani; al-Fatih 'Abdallah Yusuf; and Ghayd [Wayn].

200 Sacked Since 1989

92P40052B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 7 Nov 91 p 4

[Text] Informed Sudanese sources said that a list was issued in Khartoum naming and notifying 25 Sudanese diplomats that they have been indentified for separation from the diplomatic service.

The sources explained that the list included eight ambassadors, seven ministers plenipotentiary, and 10 counselors and secretaries. To date, the number of ambassadors and diplomats who have been separated from the Sudanese Foreign Ministry since Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir seized power has grown to 200.

*Al-Bashir Defends Human Rights Record

92P40053A AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 27 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir, chairman of the Sudanese Revolutionary Command Council, renewed his declaration of amnesty for those who have opposed his government. He said, however, that this amnesty will not include one person, Lt. Gen. Fawzi Ahmad 'Ali, the former commander-in-chief of the armed forces, because "he sold himself to the rebellion and it is inevitable that an accounting and punishment will catch up with him."

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir defended his country's record on human rights in a statement given to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT at the conclusion of his visit to Ethiopia, saying, "Indeed, these rights are safeguarded." To this he added: "I challenge any agency to visit the country and Sudanese prisoners and find evidence of torture or of preventive detention for more than a month without a court order or charge of a specific crime."

Concerning the government's arrest and prosecution of politicians, as well as its investigation of them, he said: "Sudanese political leaders, foremost among whom are al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and Muhammad Ibrahim Nuqud, are permitted their full freedoms inside the country. No one dares to interrogate them, prosecute them, or arrest them as long as they are working within their country, even if they differ with us in opinion."

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir launched a vitriolic attack on "circles hostile" to his regime. Likewise, he attacked the foreign news media which, he said, "still talk about famine at a time when the government's problem is finding enough storage space for this year's agricultural harvest."

Concerning aid from donor countries which was withdrawn from Sudan, he said: "We are not waiting for, and we don't expect that there will be any surplus American wheat because of the Soviet need for this wheat. In any case, the surpluses will be for the white Soviet people and not for us black people." As for recent price increases and their repercussions on the domestic situation, Lt. Gen. al-Bashir said: "Some have expected the fall of the government because of these increases. In fact, some of the foreign newspapers prepared their headlines to announce the outbreak of demonstrations and civil disturbances. Nothing like this has happened, however, because the Sudanese understand the causes [of the increases] and accept them."

In response to a question concerning the difference between his regime and Ja'far Numayri's regime, he said: "The Numayri regime was four governments in one: the Socialist Union in the general secretariat, the gang that included Numayri, the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers. The new system, which will soon begin to work in Sudan, unifies authority and centers it basically in the people's conferences. The leadership and the executive authority are unified in the elected president, alongside the judicial establishments and the acting legislature."

In another development, the AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT bureau in Khartoum has reported that Lt. Gen. al-Bashir announced yesterday that his government will not work with parties and factions and tribes, affirming that there would be no returning to the political arena. During his critical commentary on discussions held in two meetings of one of the sessions of the General National Strategy Conference, he said that the rumor going around Sudan saying that a reconciliation had taken place between the government and the spurious political parties has no basis in fact and that there is no room for their return or for any discussion of this. It should be noted that Lt. Gen. al-Bashir chaired yesterday's session after his return from Ethiopia.

Tunisia

Foreign Ministry Condemns Israel's Golan Stand

LD1411221591 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] An authorized source at the Foreign Ministry made the following statement:

The Tunisian Government—which has followed with utmost interest the international efforts aimed at bringing a just, comprehensive, and durable peace to the Middle East, on the basis of respect for international legitimacy as represented in the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions, especially Resolutions 242 and 338, and which has led to the convening of the Madrid peace conference, a source of hope and optimism within the international community for achieving a solution to the problem of the Middle East—expresses its concern over and its strong condemnation of last Monday's Israeli Knesset decision stipulating that the occupied Golan Heights be considered nonnegotiable Israeli territory. It condemns this measure, which contravenes the UN Security Council resolution of December 1981 in particular, and it considers this a flagrant provocation directed at all peace advocates and a new Israeli maneuver to hinder the current peace efforts.

Tunisia believes that such illegitimate practices—which are also embodied in Israel's continued defiance of the international community in continuing to build settlements, even while the Madrid conference was in session, and by its repeated aggressions against southern Lebanon, thereby violating territorial integrity and

breaching its inviolability—constitute a threat to all peace efforts and are an abortion of the spirit of the Madrid conference.

Tunisia calls upon the international community and the UN Security Council in particular to repel such practices and maneuvers, and to cause Israel to respect international charters and abandon stubbornness and the policy of the fait accompli.

Opposition Parties Welcome Meeting With President

LD0911022891 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1700 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Following President Zine El Abdine Ben Ali's reception of the secretaries general of the national opposition parties on the occasion of the official ceremony held yesterday morning at Carthage Palace, the Unionist Democratic Union, the Communist Party, the Party of Popular Unity, the Progressive Socialist Rally, and the Socialist Democrats Movement issued the following statement:

Following the head of state's reception of the national opposition parties secretaries general, the parties emphasize the significance and positiveness of this meeting in which a frank conversation took place concerning a number of essential issues related to the democratic process, and the need to give it an impetus in many areas, particularly in information, consolidating national dialogue and developing its forms, channeling its contents toward strengthening the internal front, and reinforcing the pluralistic civic society. The secretaries general and the head of state found complete understanding on the issues discussed.

Saddam 'Increasingly Suspicious' of Associates

NC1411162491 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Opposition in Arabic 1500 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Informed sources in Baghdad said today that defeated tyrant Saddam Husayn's appointment of his maternal half-brother Watban Ibrahim al-Hasan as interior minister has come when the tyrant is getting increasingly suspicious, even of those closest to him. This is particularly in light of the increasing problems and deteriorating situation at home and the continued isolation of his regime abroad.

The same sources added that all the recent transfers, changes, and dismissals within the tyrant's government involved only relatives and close associates. The sources added that Watban al-Hasan, who was at the head of Saddam's intelligence cliques during the Gulf crisis, was the (?strongest) figure at the time in charge of protecting Saddam Husayn. He also is one of the most hard-line figures [words indistinct] of the tyrant.

Minister—King Fahd Speech 'Full of Falsehoods'

JN1411164391 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1550 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Baghdad, 14 Nov (INA)—Foreign Minister Ahmad Husayn has made the following statement to INA:

We became acquainted with the speech King Fahd of Saudi Arabia delivered before a Kuwaiti delegation on 7 November 1991. We were not much surprised to find that the speech was full of falsehoods and blatant attempts at deception. Those who know Fahd know that his personality is characterized by wickedness, hypocrisy, and deception.

In his speech, Fahd hastened, as always, and tried to camouflage his despicable conspiratorial policy vis-a-vis Iraq and the Arab nation. Thus, his speech was full of lies and falsehoods as he reviewed the recent events, and in his miserable attempt to propagate for colonialist hegemony over the region.

The foreign minister added: What attracts attention in Fahd's speech is his shortsightedness, which reached the level of political blindness. He tried to flatter and appease the Iranian regime by attacking Iraq. While raving before the Kuwaiti delegation, Fahd forgot his statements and those of the members of his government during the years of the war that was imposed by the Iranian regime on Iraq. In a miserable and naive way, Fahd tried to beg Tehran to forgive him for his previous positions.

The foreign minister said: Here I would like to recall some of Fahd's official statements on Iran and its war with Iraq.

In his speech marking the 1988 pilgrimage season, Fahd praised Iraq's positive stands and its response to the regional and international good offices and initiatives to establish peace, and said: "The Iraq-Iran war, which broke out on 4 September 1980, caused deep injuries to the Islamic nation."

The minister added: On 14 September 1987, the SAUDI PRESS AGENCY disseminated a news item saying that during the cabinet's weekly session in Jeddah, Fahd denounced the terroristic pressure which Iran is bringing to bear on Lebanon's nationalist leaders.

The minister continued: On 22 December 1987, the SAUDI PRESS AGENCY carried a statement by Fahd from which we excerpted the following: "King Fahd touched on the Iraq-Iran war, alluding to Iraq's acceptance of international resolutions aimed at ending this war, particularly Resolution 598. The Saudi monarch held Iran responsible for the continuation of the war in the Gulf and its consequences."

The foreign minister added: This is only a small portion of the statements Fahd gave throughout the Iraq-Iran war. Has he forgotten all his utterances and official statements? Therefore, I say that Fahd's speech on 7 November shows shortsightedness and is an attempt to tamper with the truth.

The minister said the Saudi ruler knows only too well that Iraq was careful to maintain good relations with its neighbors on the basis of equity, mutual respect of rights and interests, national sovereignty, and noninterference in the internal affairs of others. This was manifested by President Saddam Husayn's pan-Arab declaration on 8 February 1980, seven months before the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war; a declaration which stipulated the need for solving problems by peaceful means and rejecting the use of force, based on the Arab League and UN charters.

The foreign minister said: Regarding border problems, Fahd acknowledged that His Excellency President Saddam Husayn quickly and smoothly resolved the issue with Saudi Arabia. We would like to add that the subject was also settled with Jordan in a brotherly spirit, inspired by the unity of land and the common destiny of the Arab nation.

He added: As for Kuwait, it is its rulers, who are in league with foreigners and whose conspiracy is by now quite visible, who must be held responsible for the way things turned out. By all accounts, these imposed rulers conspired against Iraq and the Arab nation, and their relations with Zionists and all enemies of Arabism have been brought to light.

He said: Saudi Arabia is the least entitled nation on earth to talk about borders, when it has problems with all of its neighbors. This includes Yemen, the Sultanate of Oman, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar. It seized and annexed large chunks of neighboring Arab territory through brute force. The most recent example is the occupation of the border area of Khawr al-'Adid [as received] in southern Qatar by Saudi forces.

Pointing out the intense hatred felt by Fahd for Iraq's and leader Saddam Husayn's association with Islam, and his looking after the affairs of Muslims, especially the scholars, and his sponsorship of Islamic conferences, the foreign minister said: Fahd deluded himself into thinking that he is custodian of the Islamic faith, when he knows for a fact that by being in league with the Americans and Zionists and, indeed, turning the holy land into a springboard for aggression and espionage, he and others of his kind stabbed at the heart of Muslims and true religion.

He added: His heart filled with hatred and irritation, Fahd assailed Arab and Islamic masses that came to Baghdad to underline their support and solidarity with the believing leader Saddam Husayn and the steadfast people of Iraq, and to express their militant stand with proud Iraq against tyranny, injustice, and misguidedness. Such Arab and Islamic movements and figures hardly need confirmation of their integrity from the king of Saudi Arabia, who trampled on values and violated taboos. Those figures have, with full awareness, chosen to stand in the trench of right, faith, and God's guidance against traitors to the Arab nation and Islam.

The foreign minister added: Saddam Husayn is a mujahid and true believer. His understanding of Arabism is based on its Islamic spirit and on the fact that Islam is the message of the Arab nation to mankind, and the best example of its rich cultural products. Islam is truth, justice, equality, and fraternity; not injustice, hypocrisy, submission to foreigners, the squandering of national wealth, or increasing the wealth of the rich and poverty of the poor.

He added: Saddam Husayn, the revolutionary Arab struggler, truly embodies the teachings of Islam and its lofty examples. He is not like Fahd, who drowns in his own pleasures and lusts. These are known to all and were exposed by the media of his own masters in the West.

The foreign minister stressed that Fahd's continued expression of his fears of Iraq has been exposed, because the king of Saudi Arabia is trying—in vain—to justify the course of humiliation and slavery which he and his kind followed to shackle the Arab nation with the chains of new colonialism and hegemony over its potential, and to plunder its wealth.

Concluding his statement, the foreign minister said: The one who is submissive to foreigners will remain captive to his own humiliation. The mind and feelings of such a person will only produce practices and acts that are in harmony with the nature of the humiliation inside himself.

Editorial Assails 'Lowly' Gulf Leaders

JN1511093391 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0825 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Baghdad, 15 Nov (INA)—Describing the rulers of the Gulf protectorates, AL-QADISIYAH has said that they have been and continue to be lowly, not only in terms of their character but also in terms of their agentry and subservience. They are no more than trivial tools in the U.S. colonialist plan.

In its editorial today, the paper says that every now and then since the direct U.S. military occupation of the Gulf protectorates, the rulers of these protectorates—in addition to their effective participation in the brutal aggression against Iraq and in preparing for it—circulate lies and falsehoods against struggling Iraq and its unique leader Saddam Husayn. This is within their roles as agents serving U.S. plans and in harmony with the directives of their master U.S. President Bush.

The paper adds that we are not comparing between these dwarfs such as Fahd, Zayid, and the imposed Kuwaiti ruler, and the militant nature of the people of Iraq and its unique leader. They were and continue to be lowly, not only in terms of their character, but also in terms of their agentry and subservience. They are no more than trivial tools in the U.S. colonialist plan.

The paper adds that these pseudo-men—who accepted subservience and agentry, transformed the Arabian Gulf states into foreign protectorates, and mortgaged the Arabs' oil wealth to U.S. control—would not have dared propagate such lies, falsehoods, and accusations against Iraq, its faithful people, and knight leader Saddam Husayn if it had not been for the support of the foreign occupation forces, now that the Arab masses smell the stinking odor of their agentry, and now that their crime against Iraq and its people is unforgivable, no matter how much they try to falsify facts and reality.

The paper explains that Iraq came under a brutal aggression by 30 states, including agent Arab regimes, and suffered from the injustice inflicted upon it as a result of brethren's past and present indifference. The paper says that the Iraqi people are enduring pain and continue to defy the chapters of U.S. conspiracy, following the military aggression and the chapter of treachery and treason.

The paper indicates that the fabrications and lies of those treasonous rulers will not find the slightest approval, even from their masters, not to mention the Arab masses who stood alongside each other in the Mother of Battles, which they consider to be one of the epics of their history. Those Arab masses cherished and continue to cherish great Iraq and its distinguished leader, Saddam Husayn.

Concluding, the paper says that history has chosen the right place for the rulers of the foreign Gulf protectorates—the trash bin of history. This is where Fahd joins Abu-Rughal [a pre-Islamic Arab said to have guided Abyssinian armies to Mecca; regarded as a symbol of treason], Zayid with Abu-Lahab [Prophet Muhammad's uncle and his most ardent rival], and the remainder of the Gulf rulers join their evil counterparts in Arab and Islamic history.

Saddam Cables 'Arafat on Independence Anniversary

JN1511110591 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0953 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Baghdad, 15 Nov (INA)—President Saddam Husayn has sent a cable of congratulations to his brother Yasir 'Arafat, president of the state of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, on the third anniversary of the proclamation of the state of Palestine. The cable reads:

On the third anniversary of the proclamation of the state of Palestine, it pleases us to send to you, to our brothers in the PLO and the fraternal Palestinian people, our heartfelt congratulations and most sincere brotherly feelings, hoping on this historic occasion that God Almighty will grant you success in your just struggle to achieve the full objectives for which our Palestinian Arab people are struggling. We hope that the Palestinian Arab people's intifadah in the occupied territory will achieve its objectives toward liberation and independence from the shackles of the spiteful Zionist occupation. We beseech God Almighty to grant you continued health and happiness, and to guide us all toward the best of our glorious Arab nation and its loftiness.

Saddam Criticizes Method of BABIL Reporting

NC1411183291 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Kurdistan in Arabic 1615 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] According to REUTER, the Iraqi president visited the Iraqi Information Ministry and criticized the method pursued by the newspaper BABIL in publishing its reports. He said that these reports include one which said that Iraqi women travel to Jordan, where they become prostitutes.

The Iraqi president noted that the Iraqi media must focus on what he termed as Iraq's struggle against the international economic blockade imposed on it.

Talabani Cables Kurds, Peshmergas on Evacuation

NC1411171791 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Kurdistan in Arabic 1603 GMT 14 Nov 91

["Urgent and important cable" from Jalal Talabani, secretary general of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, to the Kurdish masses and the peshmerga forces on 13 November—read by announcer]

[Text] Warm revolutionary greetings. In view of the misinterpretation of my previous cable to you, it is necessary to clarify the following matters:

1. The evacuation of the peshmerga forces from the towns in Kurdistan means the elimination of armed manifestations in the towns. As for the presence of the peshmerga forces in the towns to ensure security and protection and defend the headquarters of the Kurdistan Front and of the parties affiliated with the Front, this is an essential matter.
2. The peshmerga of all parties affiliated with the Kurdistan Front shall establish a tight defensive line around the towns to protect them against possible provocations.
3. The return of the Army, the security forces, and the suppressive organs to the towns is out of the question. They will not be permitted to return in any form.
4. The return of the Ba'th Party organization to the towns in Kurdistan is completely out of the question and no decision has been made in this respect.
5. Only the civilian departments will return, while the coordination committee will supervise the towns.
6. Our principal goal is to remove the specter of war and ensure the citizens' essentials.
7. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan is meticulously and closely watching the well-known tricks of the dictatorship. The union is fully prepared to frustrate these tricks.

Comrades, brothers, and sisters, I give you the good tiding that the unity of the ranks of the Kurdistan Front and the unity of stands have gained further strength and solidity. As for the enemies' illusionary dreams, which are designed to disrupt the ranks of the Kurdistan Front in general and to torpedo the amicable relationship between the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, they will be buried. The land will repulse the [word indistinct] of the enemies for the crimes and atrocities they have committed.

May you rest assured and may you remain for the struggle and steadfastness.

[Signed] Your Faithful Brother Jalal
[Dated] 13 November 1991

U.S. Food Aid 'Rotten,' 'Insult' to Iraqis

JN1411155391 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1320 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By Hatif al-Thalj: "A People Who Reject Humiliation"; from the "A Word of Truth" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, good day. The humanitarian cover boasted about by the United States, in the name of the Security Council, is no longer sufficient to annul its crimes and brutality against the Iraqi people. The Iraqis have become aware of the grudges and the degree of wickedness harbored by those alleged humanitarians on account of Iraq's great history. The so-called humanitarian aid to the Iraqi people amounts to nothing more than poison and rotten food, which they would have otherwise dumped into the sea. Their humanitarianism, however, made them forget the sea and provide the great Iraqi people with this rotten food, under the pretext of concern for our people and their fear of a food disaster. It is as if they are not the ones who exposed our people to starvation, and sometimes, to death, because of medicine shortages. It is also as if they are not behind the continuation of the siege with their relentless pressure on countries around the world—the affiliated and nonaffiliated ones—to deprive the Iraqi people of food and medical supplies.

Exploiting the pressure of deprivation, from which our great people are suffering, those led by the criminal Bush acted in a manner devoid of ethics and values. They allowed themselves to enter Iraqi homes without permission, under the pretext of acquainting themselves firsthand with the Iraqi people's need for these goods. The fact of the matter is that this ridiculous way of dealing with the situation is only aimed at gathering intelligence on Iraq and her people. It is also aimed at further humiliating our people, who will not be humiliated and who will not allow themselves to be humiliated.

The lofty Iraqi, who throughout history has been known for his pride, accepted and will continue to accept scarcity for the sake of personal pride, dignity, and honor. This is our custom; something which they lack. To make this fact even clearer, we say that the food which the Americans distributed in the northern part of our beloved homeland was not welcome, as they imagined, despite the tribulations of our lofty Kurdish people. Our Kurdish people know that what is being provided by those criminals is nothing but poison and rotting goods. The baby's milk was rotten, the food was unfit for human consumption, and the medicine was just as bad.

These innumane practices reveal to us what those criminals will do if they assume responsibility over the distribution of food to the great Iraqi people. Certainly, this measure will be a factor for pressure and blackmail, and further attempts to insult the genuine Iraqi people, who will reject—as they have in the past—all attempts at humiliation, and who will remain steadfast. The Iraqi people will not accept charity from a wicked hand at the expense of our people's wealth, sweat, and national output.

Minister on Plans To Distribute Rationed Meat

JN1411195691 Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 13 Nov 91 pp 1, 7

[By unidentified AL-THAWRAH reporters in al-Muthanna and Dhi Qar]

[Excerpts] Trade Minister Dr. Muhammad Mahdi Salih has called for putting into effect the essence of leader Saddam Husayn's speeches, mobilizing citizens and families and urging them to rationalize home expenditures, while showing determination to break the unjust economic blockade and increasing national production to achieve victory, and to deny the enemies the opportunity to implement their schemes and machinations, which aim to undermine our steadfast country.

During a meeting with directors of trade branches in al-Muthanna Governorate, Salih affirmed that the state is responsible for securing and distributing food in accordance with the ration cards issued to citizens. Al-Muthanna Governor Muhsin al-Khafaji and Comrade Rashid Salluh, deputy secretary of the [Ba'th] Party's al-Muthanna branch command, attended the meeting. A civil status card is requested before citizens can be issued rations, he noted. The usual official documents have to be submitted, Salih added, with regard to Arab and foreign nationals.

The minister affirmed the importance of carefully examining ration cards, as this would help identify cases where counterfeit ration cards have been issued. This would also, the minister added, help the competent authorities drop the false powers of attorney, fictitious families, and deceased people from their records. This all would help reinforce our national economy, the minister maintained.

In a statement to AL-THAWRAH, the minister said: The ministry's plan provides for distributing red meat among citizens in accordance with ration cards beginning in December. This will be followed by the distribution of chicken in accordance with these cards, he added. Salih went on to say: Subsidized dates will be distributed in early winter. Forty tonnes of dates have been received. This amount is sufficient to meet citizens' needs. A 25-kg sack will be distributed to each and every family. [passage omitted]

Trade Minister Dr. Muhammad Mahdi Salih also discussed with Dhi Qar Governor 'Abd-al-Ilah Hamid al-'Annaz the measures taken to distribute next year;s ration cards. These cards will be distributed in accordance with regulations to be enforced for the first time. [passage omitted]

Shamir Says 'No Room for Territorial Concessions'

TA1511092591 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 15 Nov 91 p B1

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir by Yo'el Marcus in Shamir's Jerusalem office on 14 November]

[Text] Mr. Prime Minister, you were quoted this week as saying that Israel is not thinking whatsoever about territorial concessions within the framework of the peace process. My question to you is: How will we make peace without any territorial concession? Yitzhaq Shamir, very relaxed during a candid talk yesterday several hours prior to his departure for a meeting with President Bush, does not mince words when expressing his view on that subject. "There is no room for territorial concessions. If we give in, where will we be? The whole world wants lands from us. One would think that we are a huge continent that can hand out presents. We are a tiny country, hard to find on the map."

Not even a little territory, I ask. Shamir ignores this and says that he does not "negotiate with his interviewers," but adds: "The Balfour Declaration gave us the lands on both banks of the Jordan River. Afterward, they took the East Bank from us, and all sorts of committees were set up, which took from us. Enough! The establishment of two states in an immigrant-absorbing country means dooming both populations to eternal conflict." Question: Are you still loyal to the declaration that we will not give up a millimeter of Eretz Yisra'el? Answer: I do not recall whether I used the term millimeter or inch. But yes, that is the approach. I do not know a single country, even a large one, that barters away its lands.

How can we discuss peace with Syria if the government's hands are tied, once by law and a second time by this week's Knesset resolution on the Golan Heights? Shamir: "We can reach peace with Syria even without returning the Golan Heights." Question: How? Answer: Simple, by signing a peace accord. Question: Even without special arrangements? Answer: We can create suitable conditions along the borders. For instance, reduce the military alert between the two countries or give prior notice about holding maneuvers. There are ways. Question: Should we permit vessels carrying Scuds to reach Syria? Answer: That was not the first vessel and will not be the last. It is Syria's policy to systematically build up its destructive arsenal. Question: The United States cannot prevent this? Answer: The United States is aware of the vessel, but is not omnipotent.

Shamir is skeptical about terms like "new order" or "window of opportunities." He suggests leaving the business of definitions to the historians. He is not excited about these definitions. Madrid was a novelty, "but we should not exaggerate" the importance of the event. Question: Is that what you meant when you warned against too much euphoria among the residents of the territories? Shamir: "Yes, yes, there is concern that the expectations in the territories will reach unrealistic levels and could lead to disappointments, and it is preferable for the residents of the territories to avoid exaggerated expectations." Does Shamir intend to extend immunity to the members of the Palestinian delegation to the talks? Shamir claims that the whole story about immunity was made up by the media. "We will not hinder them from negotiating, but we will treat them according to the law. They will not be immune from the law, but we will also not hinder them. As long as there is no agreement, the situation in the territories will remain as it is."

In anticipation of his meeting with Bush, he is careful about what he says about the United States. He does not agree with my view that we made a mistake in requesting the loan guarantees, which were used by the United States to pressure us. He also does not believe that the request should be dropped. "We need that aid a lot; it is of major assistance to us, and it does not hurt the U.S. budget." He is aware that the administration is using the guarantees as a means to pressure us, but makes it unequivocally clear that he will oppose any linkage between aid for immigration and settlement or our positions on the peace process. "I am opposed to linkage [preceding word in English]," Shamir said.

I draw his attention to the series of reports, leaks, and disclosures which create the impression of a well-orchestrated U.S. campaign against Israel. Shamir admits that "this is a worrisome, even negative phenomenon, which must be monitored." On the issue of an imposed settlement, Shamir chooses his words carefully. "Bush and Baker promised me in Madrid that they would not impose a settlement on us." Question: Would you prefer them to lower their level of involvement? Answer: Without America altogether? I would not say that. The process would not have been born without it. We are not an island. We will take their advice into account, but the final decision will be up to us."

You said that you would not voice your opposition were the intifadah to continue throughout the negotiations. Shamir: "The intifadah must cease without any tie to anything. What I said was that I do not ask for any favors, and I do not set any preconditions about not attending talks if the intifadah is not stopped." Question: Does that mean you would also not accede to a demand for a settlement freeze? Answer: That is correct. We will approach the talks without preconditions. Question: If the settlements are part of the negotiations, how will you respond if, at the start of the negotiations, we are called on to freeze them? Answer: That is out of the question. The settlements will be part of the negotiations on the future of the West Bank and not on autonomy. Question: Do you totally rule out a settlement freeze? Answer: Yes. Question: Ari'el Sharon told a closed meeting that his wide- ranging activity in the territories is not of his own initiative but at your request. Is that a proper description of the situation? Shamir chooses his words carefully: "There is a policy to develop the country which must be implemented; therefore, Sharon does not operate against my will."

When autonomy was "invented" in 1978 (I remind him), there were not so many settlements. Now that everything is full, "how will the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] deploy in its new positions" when it has to safeguard so many settlements and the roads leading to them? Shamir sees no problems: "The settlements will not be part of the autonomy; they will be part of Israel. We will find a way." Question: What sort of self-government will it be? Will we leave sewage and street cleaning to them? Answer: "That is media nonsense. The idea is for the population to handle its own affairs, without harming state security. They will have real ministries for culture, education, economics, trade, justice, and police. These are the areas on which we will negotiate, and there is a lot of room for creative thought on all sides." Question: Let us suppose that a flag will be raised in the autonomous area and a Palestinian state declared. Shamir (without hesitating): We will bring the IDF back, because this would be a violation of the agreement." Shamir is certain that he has massive support in his party and "in the nation" for the autonomy plan. Question: Somebody like you would not throw in the towel, but under what circumstances would you decide to resign from the government, set early elections, or resign from politics? Answer: That could happen in two situations. Answer: When I see that I do not have enough support for my policy or if I personally feel that I cannot carry the burden any longer. Question: Who is the most suitable person to replace you? Answer: I do not believe in monarchy; I can assure you that there will not be a shortage of candidates.

In taking my leave of the prime minister, I tell him that my grandson, Dov, who is nine years old, heard that I was going to see him and asked me to present him a question on his behalf: "On which precise day will peace start?" Shamir smiles and replies: "Tell him that even if it takes its time, peace, like the messiah, will eventually come." Like the messiah.

Jordan Rift Valley To Remain Israeli

TA1511070791 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 15 Nov 91 p 1

[By Roni Shaqed]

[Excerpt] "The Jordan Rift Valley, like Judaea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, will forever be under Israeli sovereignty, and the Jordan River will be the peace and security border," Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir wrote on the eve of his departure for the United States in a cable to the residents of the Jordan Rift Valley.

Shamir also pointed out that settlement in the territories will continue. Deputy Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, who read out Shamir's remarks to the residents of the Jordan Rift Valley yesterday, said that "the Jordan Rift Valley is Israel's eastern border. The Jordan Rift Valley is the gateway to the State of Israel, and the gate to one's home is not handed over." This was Netanyahu's first appearance as deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office. [passage omitted]

Shamir on Peace Process, Upcoming U.S. Trip

TA1411205491 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir by political correspondent Gadi Sukenik in Shamir's office on 14 November—recorded]

[Text] [Sukenik] Sir, nearly two weeks have passed since the Madrid conference, and so far no progress has been made in the direct peace contacts. What is going on?

[Shamir] There is nothing surprising in that. The opening was a grand and important affair, but now it is necessary to decide on the future. It is necessary to reach an agreement among the various sides. There are certain differences of opinion on the venue for the negotiations, but I think that will be resolved.

[Sukenik] If so, where and when will the peace contacts resume?

[Shamir] It is very important, in every respect, that the location be in our region. Perhaps during my stay in the United States I will have the opportunity to discuss the matter and also hear about the positions of all the other sides.

[Sukenik] Various compromises have been proffered, and all sorts of locations in the region have been mentioned—not in the Middle East itself, but close to it, such as Rhodes and Cyprus.

[Shamir] Perhaps so, I do not know. Let us hear about them.

[Sukenik] You have no objection in principle, I understand, to those places?

[Shamir] The question is not at all a matter of principle; it is a technical problem that is nonetheless very important. The choice of the right venue can have a deep impact on the effectiveness of the negotiations and the length of time that they will take—and that is important. Still, this should not be seen as a problem that cannot be resolved. [Jerusalem Israel Television, in the lead-in to this interview, reports that "our political correspondent has learned that Israel regards Cyprus as the preferred compromise in the argument over the next venue for the peace talks. At the same time, Israel will continue to object to Washington as a location."]

[Sukenik] What has happened to the direct contacts Israel tried to establish with the parties to the conference?

[Shamir] We have made efforts, and this goes back even to Sunday, two weeks ago in Madrid. We also tried something later. However, this has not succeeded yet. Let us wait and see.

[Sukenik] Do you think that your position—or Israel's, as a party to the negotiations—should change in any way in view of what took place in Madrid and the two weeks since?

[Shamir] One should draw conclusions and learn the lesson from everything, from every move. I do not believe that anything has happened that could change our position on the overall issue, but we are prepared to go on.

[Sukenik] You are scheduled to meet with President Bush in about a week. What are your expectations from that meeting in Washington?

[Shamir] We have a lot of issues to discuss. There are many bilateral issues—things that pertain to the peace process, mutual relations, the situation in our region, and so on. There are a number of subjects on which it will be necessary to reach fullest agreement between Israel and the United States.

[Sukenik] Such as the immigrant absorption loan guarantees?

[Shamir] That, too, is one of the important issues. Certainly.

[Sukenik] Would it be a good guess to say that you will demand that President Bush live up to the agreement that....

[Shamir, interrupting] Look, I will not say now, one week before the meeting, what I will demand or what I will not demand. Several issues will be raised, though.

[Sukenik] You met today with Minister Levi, and I presume you dealt with the temporary transfer of power during your stay in the United States.

[Shamir] When you say temporary transfer of power, you sound like Hanan 'Ashrawi [laughs], but just as there will be no transfer of power there, here, too, there will be no transfer of power. That was a routine meeting, as I am about to leave the country for a relatively long period of time, and it was necessary to discuss several topical issues.

Police: 'Ashrawi Should Be Tried for PLO Contact

TA1511060091 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0500 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] The police are recommending that Hanan 'Ashrawi be tried on the suspicion that she met with PLO officials outside the country. In contrast, they are recommending that the investigation against Faysal al-Husayni be called off due to insufficient evidence. This has been learned by our police affairs correspondent Moshe Nusbaum.

The police files were transferred this week to the attorney general and to the state attorney, who will decide whether to approve the recommendation and press charges.

The recommendation to bring 'Ashrawi to trial is based primarily on an interview broadcast on Jordanian television in which 'Ashrawi admitted that she had met with PLO officials. 'Ashrawi denied the suspicions against her when questioned by the police. Al-Husayni also denied the suspicions and argued that he had not broken the law on his trips abroad. The two were questioned twice by the National Criminal Investigation Department on suspicion that they had met with high-ranking PLO officials on two trips abroad—in London and Tunis the first time, and in Algiers the second—during the Palestine National Council session.

'Ashrawi Vows Not To Be Intimidated

TA1511120691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1105 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Regarding the police recommendation to try Hanan 'Ashrawi and its repercussions: As has been reported, the police are recommending that she be brought to trial on suspicion that she met with PLO officials outside the country. [passage omitted] Our police affairs correspondent Moshe Nussbaum nevertheless points out that the police also note that whoever makes the final decision will have to weigh whether it is in the public interest to bring 'Ashrawi to trial under the present circumstances. [passage omitted]

The police file was transferred to the attorney general and the state attorney this week. They will have to decide whether to endorse the recommendation and press charges. Officials in the State Attorney's Office say they received the police's recommendation only last night and note that the material will be reviewed, and only then will they decide whether to press charges against 'Ashrawi.

Meanwhile, the report that Hanan 'Ashrawi may be brought to trial astonished Palestinian leaders in the territories. They thought the members of the Palestinian delegation had been given some kind of immunity, which would keep them from being brought to trial. Meanwhile, efforts continue in the territories to reorganize the political committees, which have not yet begun operating. Our correspondent Moti Amir reports:

[Begin recording] [Amir] Faysal al-Husayni refused to comment this morning on the report that Hanan 'Ashrawi may be brought to trial, either because the police are not recommending that he be brought to trial or perhaps because he has not yet consulted with PLO officials in Tunis.

Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, who was seen on Jordanian television being interviewed from the PLO offices in Amman,

told us a few minutes ago that the recommendation to bring her to trial will not silence her or terminate her political activity.

['Ashrawi—in English] I think it's vindictive and petty, and I think it is a direct message attempting to intimidate and silence me. I refuse both intimidation and I refuse attempts at coercion and at bringing the disequilibrium of the occupier and the occupied into the negotiating process. I think it is an extremely irresponsible act, and it has to be viewed in the context of all Israeli practices and measures right now, in view of the peace process.

[Amir—in English] Do you think it will affect your activity?

['Ashrawi—in English] Well, if they imprison me it certainly will, but I am certainly not going to be silenced and I am not going to be intimidated, no.

[Amir translates the above and continues] Whatever happens, it seems people in the territories now realize the message of the Israeli authorities is that all are equal before the law and that the investigation was conducted without taking political and public sensitivities into account. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Labor Committee for Recognizing Palestinian Rights

TA1511142591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1400 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] The committee in charge of preparing the Labor Party convention has recommended that the party erase from its political platform the clause barring negotiations with the PLO and has also called for the addition of a clause recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people, including their national rights.

The committee further recommends that the platform expressly stipulate that no new settlements be established and that any expansion of new settlements except for the Jerusalem and the Jordan Rift Valley areas be rejected.

The Labor Party's preparing committee will continue its discussions tomorrow and among other matters will also concentrate on the issue of peace with Syria.

'Masked' Man Killed in Jerusalem; Other Incidents

TA1511073491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Border police shot and killed one masked activist this morning in Jerusalem's Old City. A third [as heard] activist was arrested. Initial details from reporter Mark Weiss:

At about 0500 this morning, a border police patrol came across a group of masked activists inside the walls of Jerusalem's Old City. They were painting slogans on walls. One was hit by border police fire and died a short time afterwards from his wounds at Hadassah-'En Kerem Hospital. Another activist was arrested. Border police found paint, posters, and pictures of Yasir 'Arafat at the site. The Jerusalem police commander has ordered an investigation into the incident.

[Paris AFP in English at 0814 GMT on 15 Nov in a report on this incident adds: "Palestinian sources confirmed the shooting, but were unable to identify the Arab who was said to be in his 20s.

"His death brings to 848 the number of Palestinians killed by Israeli troops or settlers since December 1987, according to an unofficial toll."]

Also in East Jerusalem, a firebomb was thrown at the 'Ateret Kohanim Yeshiva last night. No one was hurt.

Police patrols in Jerusalem have been reinforced today, on the anniversary of the PNC's [Palestine National Council] declaration of a Palestinian state. Yesterday, masked activists tried to force East Jerusalem schools to close to mark the anniversary.

Petrol bombs were also thrown last night at the home of a resident of the village of Yattah, near Hebron, and at the entrance to the northern Samarian town of Janin. There were no injuries in either case.

In Gaza, masked men murdered 22-year-old Muhammad Mahmud Falul.

A Palestinian wanted by the security authorities for alleged involvement in hostile activities was arrested yesterday at the Balatah refugee camp near Nabulus. A pistol and a number of bullets were found in his possession.

'Torture Squad' Caught 'Red-Handed'

TA1511135091 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1200 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] In Gaza, an IDF [Israel Defense Forces] patrol caught two hooligans, members of a strike committee, who were interrogating a local resident with terrible cruelty. The man was found tied to a tree while his torturers were dripping burning plastic on his body. As he was screaming, the hooligans recorded the events on tape. A search of their belongings revealed instructions interrogation methods and a written order to kill him and burn his body. This is the first time that the security forces have managed to catch a torture squad red-handed.

Two firebombs were thrown this morning at an IDF patrol in central Ramallah. No one was hurt and no damage was caused. The security forces clamped a curfew on the city center, and launched searches.

Senior Defense Appointments Approved

TA1411185791 Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 14 Nov 91

[Text] The defense minister has approved the recommendations of the chief of staff for the following senior IDF [Israel Defense Forces] posts which will go into effect in the coming days:

Colonel Doron Tamir will be appointed chief intelligence officer in place of Brigadier General Oren Shahor and will be promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

Brigadier General Shalom Ben-Moshe will be appointed chief education Officer in place of Brigadier General Ehud Gross who is finishing his army service.

Colonel Moti Biran will be promoted to the rank of brigadier general and will be appointed chief of military police in place of Brigadier General Shalom Ben-Moshe, who will be appointed chief education officer.

Colonel Yitzhaq Ben-Yisra'el will be appointed the head of research and development in place of Brigadier General Shmu'el Qeren who is being lent to Israel Military Industries, and will be promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

Husayn Optimistic About Peace Process

AU1111114191 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Nov 91 p 2

[By Martin Doering from Amman: "Jordan Hopes For Speedy Solutions"]

[Text] With its residential buildings and sports facilities, the royal residence in Amman resembles a barracks. The white palace in which King Husayn of Jordan and Queen Nur received the journalists of 12 European dailies for an interview looks modest from the outside—its interior shows exquisite taste.

"It is a moment of great hope," King Husayn said at the beginning, "and we are optimistic about the positive effects that the peace process may have on the region. Long discussions and a long period of intensive changes, not only in the Middle East, but in the whole world, lie behind us."

After the Madrid conference, bilateral negotiations must start now. Although it is not yet known where and when they will start, they, along with multilateral talks on humanitarian and economic questions and the distribution of the natural resources in the region, must be held soon, he said hopefully. According to King Husayn, some people think that the success of the bilateral peace talks is a prerequisite for these negotiations on regional problems. The discussion on the region's problems, however, would take longer than the peace process: and the people want tangible results. Therefore, King Husayn advocates close interrelations between the bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

In contrast to Israel and Syria in particular, which has so far refused to participate in multilateral talks for tactical reasons, Jordan needs speedy solutions, especially in the field of economy and with a view to an agreement on the water resources in the region. King Husayn warns against exerting pressure because this conflict cannot be solved overnight. A dispute like that between Israel and Syria is no cause for serious concern, but simply the expression of the difficulties and the barriers that were established in the course of decades, he said.

According to Husayn, President Bush and James Baker are playing the role of honest mediators—they accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and thus the formula "land for peace" as the basis of the conference. Jews and Arabs have the right to live in peace with each other, the king said. He also took these lines after the Gulf war had broken out, and he again rejects the interpretation of Jordan's attitude in this conflict, which is wrong in his opinion. "We were against the invasion of Kuwait, just as we are against any other aggression of this kind and against the occupation of foreign territories. Jordan advocated a peaceful solution to ward off the dangers that arise for the people and the environment by a military conflict." Finally, however, the Gulf war showed everyone how urgently a solution to the Middle East problems is required. Therefore, it was possible to initiate the peace process in Madrid, he said.

In the king's opinion, the majority of the population accepts the talks with Israel and would also welcome a solution on the basis of a compromise with Israel. A compromise solution will certainly be dramatic for the individual who lost his homeland. All, above all humanitarian questions, must be discussed during the peace talks, he said.

He does not underestimate the danger that emanates from extremists and opponents of the negotiations on both sides, but he is firmly convinced that the successes will ward off this danger. Moreover, everybody has the right to his own opinion and to opposition. This is democracy. One can reject the peace process, but has to give in if it is accepted by the majority, he said.

According to King Husayn's vision of future coexistence, he hopes that, notwithstanding the results, the region will someday develop in a similar way as Europe—into a community where everyone can move freely and unhindered and peace and stability is established. "Perhaps we will have some kind of European Parliament one day." Everything is possible after a beginning has been made in Madrid, he said.

Abu-Jabir Comments on Knesset Decision

JN1411191391 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1820 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Dr. Kamil Abu-Jabir has described the Knesset decision deeming the Golan Heights as Israeli territory, not subject to negotiation, as nonbinding. The foreign minister said that the decision was, perhaps more than anything else, intended as a maneuvering tactic. It is regrettable that certain circles in Israel resort to such provocations, which are, at best, in violation of U.S. guarantees and international legitimacy espoused by the cosponsors of the peace conference. Abu-Jabir termed the provocations a clear breach of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and the principle of land for peace.

It seems that certain circles in Israel are bent on blowing up the peace process, said Abu-Jabir, citing the daily Israeli shelling of south Lebanon, the establishment of a new settlement in the Golan Heights, and the Knesset decision of 11 November deeming the Golan as territory not subject to negotiation. He called the Knesset decision a clear and undoubted infringement of Security Council Resolution 497, which declared the Golan annexation decision null and void, and without any legal foundation. The Arabs have joined the battle for peace and are sincerely determined to reach a fair, comprehensive, and honorable settlement, the foreign minister asserted. We would have liked the other side to demonstrate an equal sense of responsibility and discretion, Abu-Jabir added.

No Normalization Before International Legitimacy

JN1511085091 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 15 Nov 91 pp 1, 16

[Editorial: "International Legitimacy Before Normalization Process"]

[Text] Amid the U.S. preoccupation with preparations for the third stage of the Arab-Israeli negotiations, aimed at normalizing relations between the two sides, it is important to recall that any negotiations on normalization will be futile if the bilateral negotiations—which represent the second stage of the Arab-Israeli talks, and which are aimed at invoking international legitimacy and settling the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict—fail.

This means that the Israeli provocations, represented by its renewed challenge to international legitimacy, can never pave the way for negotiations on normalization. It is clear that these provocations assume various forms, among them the recent Knesset decision stipulating no negotiations on the Golan, as well as the relentless Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon. Therefore, it seems that the U.S. efforts being exerted to prepare for negotiations on normalization are following a course that is in need of rectification. Necessity calls for focusing this effort on forcing Israel to abandon its provocations and challenges, so that the second stage of negotiations on the implementation of international legitimacy can take its course, and for its accomplishments to become the key that will open the door for normalization negotiations.

It is true that the Arabs are aware of the Israeli objective of forcing them into withdrawing from the peace talks, thus making them bear responsibility before the world. Needless to say, the Arabs will not carry out this task on behalf of Israel. It is also true that holding negotiations on normalization, given the Israeli challenges to international legitimacy, will not allow these talks to follow a useful course. It is not a secret that no Arab negotiating party will accept any separate settlement with Israel. In light of this outcome and all its conditions, Washington must employ its capabilities toward convincing Israel to not disrupt the bilateral talks, and to deal with them seriously. The point is not in the negotiations themselves, but rather in their positive results. This means that it is more useful to direct U.S. efforts toward implementing international legitimacy and rendering the second stage of the talks successful, than to be preoccupied with preparations for normalization negotiations that can accomplish nothing in light of Israeli challenges to that legitimacy. Otherwise, the U.S. effort to bring about the normalization process, without making sure of Israeli compliance with international legitimacy, would be a lot like trying to put the wagon before the horse!!!

PFLP's Habash Arrives on 'Private Visit'

JN1511072091 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 15 Nov 91 p 20

[Text] Amman—Dr. George Habash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], arrived in Amman yesterday from Damascus on a private visit.

Press Group Bans Writer for Israeli Interview

JN1411083491 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 14-15 Nov 91 p 3

[From "Staff and Agency Reports"]

[Excerpt] Amman—Jordan's Press Association on Wednesday dismissed journalist Sultan al-Hattab and banned him from writing because of interviews he gave to Israeli television during the Middle East peace conference in Madrid.

The decision was adopted by the administrative council of the press association, which branded Mr. al-Hattab's interviews illegal and accused him of attempting to normalise cultural relations with "the Zionist entity."

In a statement, the council condemned what it termed as Mr. al-Hattab's "disgraceful behaviour" and said his television interviews constituted "high treason of Jordanian laws."

The press association council's statement ran as follows:

"The council discussed the shameful act of Sultan al-Hattab who gave an interview with Israel Television during the Madrid peace conference and considered it as a dangerous precedent, violating Jordanian laws which ban any contact with the Israeli enemy.

"As the Jordan Press Association was the first organisation to place Arab journalists on a black list for dealing with Israel or calling for normalising relations with the Zionist entity, and in accordance with previous association resolutions, the council strongly condemns al-Hattab's shameful act and reiterates its strong opposition to normalising relations with the Israeli enemy in any form.

"Since the al-Hattab interview with Israel Television constitutes a violation of the Arab boycott rules against Israel and a violation of the association's law and regulations which consider any contact with the Zionist enemy as a capital treason, and in accordance with articles 46 and 50 of the association law issued in 1983, the council has decided to dismiss Sultan al-Hattab from the association and ban him from serving as a journalist.

"The name of Sultan al-Hattab is to be added to the association's black list and the decision will be distributed to various organisations and unions as well as journalist unions locally and abroad.

"The association will request from all press institutions and newspapers in Jordan to prevent Sultan al-Hattab from working for them in accordance with association law," the statement concluded.

The measure means that Mr. al-Hattab cannot work as a journalist in this Kingdom, where the majority of people opposed normalisation of relations with Israel before it withdraws from lands it captured from Jordan, Egypt and Syria during the 1967 Middle East war.

"I am surprised about the press association's unfair decision," Mr. al-Hattab said in an interview. "I believe that there are attempts to sabotage peace efforts in this region.

"But I shall stick to my views....I shall struggle using my pen, I shall continue to demand my rights and I shall never give up," he said. [passage omitted]

Controversy Continues

JN1511114291 Amman SHIHAN in Arabic 16-22 Nov 91 pp 5, 36

[Unattributed report: "Sultan al-Hattab: Guilty or Victim?"]

[Text] The controversy created by statements that journalists Sultan al-Hattab and Tawfiq Abu-Bakr gave to Israeli Television took a dramatic turn when the Jordanian Press Association decided to expel al-Hattab.

This issue continues to be a controversial one on which opinions are sharply divided. While those who are against the two men consider their action as an attempt at cultural normalization of relations with the Zionist enemy, those who favor them state that this issue is connected with the freedom of the press and is necessary when dealing with the peace conference.

The decision to expel al-Hattab from the Press Association is not the first and will not be the last. The Jordanian Writers Association issued a similar decision against him, warning against involvement in any attempts at normalization with the enemy. What could be more significant is preventing al-Hattab from writing in AL-RA'Y and Abu-Bakr from writing in AL-DUSTUR until further notice.

There is obvious controversy over this issue. While the forces that are opposed to a Middle East settlement are taking measures against the two men, a group of writers and journalists have started a movement in support of al-Hattab and Abu-Bakr, considering the attacks on them as a kind of intellectual terrorism.

Journalists Hamadah Fara'inah, who held a meeting in his office in support of al-Hattab and Abu-Bakr, believes that the men did not carry out a process of normalization with the enemy, and that the charges that were leveled against them are unfair given that the peace process requires freedom of movement. Fara'inah said that a committee of writers, journalists, and lawyers will be formed to defend al-Hattab and Abu-Bakr against the harm they have suffered.

SHIHAN, which has been following this issue, has asked Information Minister Mahmud al-Sharif his opinion. Al-Sharif asserted that the government has no position on this issue, pointing out that the newspapers are free to choose who writes for them, and that the associations of writers and journalists are free to make any decisions they deem fit.

The minister expressed his own personal viewpoint, however, saying that the issue has been blown out of normal proportions and that a citizen is free to carry out his own pursuits. He said that this issue should not be given undue attention or importance, and that issues should not be dealt with in a tense atmosphere, adding that no one should claim to hold a monopoly on the truth.

While this is the opinion of the information minister, Sultan al-Hattab commented on this controversy, saying that his appearance on Israeli Television does not represent normalization, but rather was an attempt to benefit from their media by taking the opportunity to explain the Arab point of view, especially the Palestinian problem.

Al-Hattab said: The Israeli reporters surprised us in our quarters and it was impossible to avoid them. He said that his work as a journalist is one thing, while normalization is quite another since we have been engaged with the enemy since 1967. They read our press and we read theirs.

Al-Hattab voiced his surprise over the Writers Association's decision to expel him, saying that he was not a member and adding that he will sue them, as well as the AL-RIBAT newspaper, which he said also slandered him.

As for Tawfiq Abu-Bakr, he announced his position in AL-DUSTUR a few days ago. He reiterated that he is against effecting normalization before realizing a just political settlement, and is against giving free concessions to the enemy, because such concessions will not help force the Israelis to budge from their positions, and because they are a closed society that requires more pressure.

He said that he had stopped writing because his behavior was misinterpreted. He denied that he was prevented from writing.

Abu-Bakr said he would not make any hasty decisions or judge people without careful consideration. He would have preferred it if the Writers Association had discussed the matter with al-Hattab before making their decision to expel him. He said: We cannot live with this old mentality in the democratic era.

The issue is still hot. Will new dramatic developments take place? The issue is still open to all possibilities.

Minister, Soviet Envoy Discuss Peace Talks

NC1411133091 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1230 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Soviet Ambassador Gennadiy Ilichev met today with Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz.

Following the meeting, the ambassador said he handed Buwayz a message from Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin expressing Soviet satisfaction with coordination between the USSR and Lebanon and he expressed complete readiness to continue cooperation in the coming stages of the peace conference.

Ilichev added: As to the venue and date for resuming the talks, this is up to the Arab parties and Israel. He said that the Soviet Union and the United States will choose a venue and a date suitable to everyone. [sentence as heard]

On the situation in the south, the ambassador said: As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there are no doubts. There is the international community's Resolution 425, which provides the legal international basis and mechanism for implementation. Therefore what is needed is the implementation of Resolution 425, meaning Israel's complete and unconditional withdrawal from south Lebanon. This would open the way for Lebanon to apply its authority over all its territory.

Israeli Attacks Said Attempt To 'Frustrate' Talks

NC1511071791 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0615 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Defense Minister Michel al-Murr has stated that the situation in the south will escalate further because Israel wants it to. He said that since the start of the peace talks, not a day has passed without Israel carrying out air or artillery attacks. Al-Murr added that Israel knows very well that when the occupation ends the resistance will end. He affirmed that no link should be made between the negotiations and the Israeli attacks, because the purpose of the escalation is to frustrate the negotiations.

Amal Views U.S. Request To Strike at Hizballah

NC1511101791 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Husayn al-Musawi, leader of the Islamic Amal Movement, has said the Americans are asking the state to strike at Hizballah as a prelude to entering Jazzin, adding that such a request was implemented before with regard to the Palestinians.

He went on: We know that there are men in the Karami government subservient to the Americans, but the resistance's capability and priorities on the one hand and the Lebanese-Syrian treaty on the other prevent this deadly mistake.

He said: Those who ask for halting resistance operations must shut up immediately. There are daily attempts to cause a split between the resistance and the army. The American University of Beirut blast by an Israeli group serves this end.

Hizballah Attacks Government Position on South

NC1511091191 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] A responsible Hizballah source has commented on the resumption of Zionist attacks and air raids on several villages and bridges in Iqlim al-Tuffah.

The source said: Once again, the Zionist acts of aggression have resumed against our villages and areas in the south and western al- Biqa'. Once again, the enemy needs no justification for its aggression and crime other than its plan to scorch the area. Once again, we see the Lebanese Government's attention is far away from this difficult and serious situation in defending the land and man. It chose to exercise the role of internal police whose acts resemble the impulsive acts of militias.

These acts were represented by raiding mosques and homes of honorable ulema, such as Shaykh Husayn Surur in the Tyre area.

The source emphasized that this provocative method in these difficult circumstances of our homeland and nation prompts us to ask about the nature of duties entrusted with this army, irrespective of who stands to benefit from such acts at a time when everyone should shoulder their historic responsibilities both at home and abroad.

Hizballah's responsible source concluded by saying that, at a time when Israel asserts that using a gun is synonymous with sitting at the negotiating table in Madrid or elsewhere, we notice that the Lebanese Foreign Ministry is busy preparing for what it calls the legal and diplomatic dossiers of bilateral negotiations in an attempt to make our people believe that it is performing its task efficiently.

Hizballah Sources Report on Israeli Raids

NC1411181691 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1730 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Israeli helicopters carried out three raids this afternoon. The first involved the bombardment of Islamic resistance positions in Mlita and Jabal Safi. The second raid targeted the Sit Zubaydah bridge linking al-Nabatiyah with Iqlim al-Tuffah. This bridge was destroyed by the occupation troops 10 days ago and had just been repaired. The same raid targeted another bridge linking Kafr Kila and Kafr Milki. The third raid was carried out by Cobra helicopters against a center for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in al-Rashidiyah camp. There is no word on casualties. [passage omitted]

Hizballah sources stated that at 1530, Israeli aircraft carried out two raids, the first against 'Ayn Bu Siwar and the second against Jabal Safi. Ten minutes later, the Habbush bridge was bombarded. At 1620 two raids were carried out, during which the bridge between Kafr Kila and Kafr Milki was blown up.

Al-Shar' Conveys Letters to U.S., Soviet Envoys

JN1411213891 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 2119 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' this evening received U.S. Ambassador to Damascus Christopher Ross and USSR Ambassador Aleksandr Zotov. Present at the meeting were Assistant Foreign Minister Yusuf Shakkur, and Muwaffaq Nassar, assistant director of the West Europe desk at the Foreign Ministry.

The ambassadors were handed a letter addressed to the U.S. secretary of state and Soviet foreign minister in their capacities as cosponsors of the peace conference. The letter spells out Syria's position on the Knesset decision deeming the occupied Golan Heights as Israeli territory.

The Knesset decision, the letter pointed out, is an attempt by Israel to torpedo the peace process and a flagrant violation of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, on the basis of which the Madrid peace conference was convened. The Israeli decision is also a clear breach of the assurances from the United States and the Soviet Union, cosponsors of the conference, that Security Council Resolution 242 applies to all fronts, including the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

Also this evening, al-Shar' delivered similar letters to the ambassadors of the EC nations in Damascus to be sent to their foreign ministers as participants in the peace conference.

Commentary Views Israel's 'Intransigent' Position

JN1311160291 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Station commentary]

[Text] Gentlemen: He who follows what is now taking place in Israel in terms of measures, decisions, and announcements, may very simply believe that the Tel Aviv rulers have not yet heard the peace call made by the whole world and around which the will of the international community rallied. He may also believe that Israel did not go to Madrid nor participate in the peace conference sessions. Neither does it know anything about the U.S. initiative calling for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and exchanging land for peace.

He who follows what is taking place in Israel these days may believe that Zionist leaders are setting fire to the Middle East anew with provocations and expansion and aggression in search of a new war that will add new tragedies, which may be the most serious and dangerous experienced by the world, to the history of conflict in the region. Following the intransigent Zionist position, which the world knew in Madrid through Shamir and his negotiating crew, and Israel's rejection of a just and comprehensive peace in letter and spirit, Shamir returned to occupied Palestine to give unequivocal proof of his hostility to peace, his rejection of its march, and his insistence on instilling despair in all the parties participating in the peace process, inside and outside the region, forcing them to relinquish their efforts to achieve peace and to save the region from the dangers of devastating wars.

No sooner had Shamir returned from Madrid than he announced the inauguration of a new settlement in the occupied Golan Heights. The Israeli rulers exploited this occasion to launch an offensive against peace and to reconfirm the settlement policy, which, in accordance with Zionist policy, is not subject to change or alteration. No sooner had this provocative inauguration taken place than the Zionist Knesset adopted a resolution confirming the annexation of the Golan Heights and stressing that this annexation is unnegotiable under all circumstances, in accordance with what Israel has announced through its news media and its senior leaders.

Here is Shamir today, after meeting with the Zionist settlements council, giving a green light to establishing more settlements in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, and announcing to the public that the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and all the territory under Israeli occupation is Israeli territory from which there will be no withdrawal under any circumstances.

To support this, Ari'el Sharon escalated his provocative campaign against peace, calling for expanding settlements in the occupied Arab territories, and for deporting Faysal al-Husayni and Hanan 'Ashrawi from Palestinian territory or placing them behind bars on the charge of standing behind the intifadah and encouraging the spirit of resistance. This is the current Israeli scene at a time when the whole world is making final arrangements to resume the second phase of the peace conference, which should result in an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, and in giving birth to the main features of a just and comprehensive solution to the entire Arab-Zionist conflict. Is this the scene that gives the world confidence in Israel's intentions on peace, or is it the scene that clearly proves to the world that Israel is continuing to rebel against the world, its will, and consensus to achieve peace that is based on international legitimacy and the principle of land for peace? If the world has really become certain that this scene poses a threat to peace and to the peace conference, whose convocation in Madrid brought good news to the world, then who will be responsible for stopping Israel under the limits the world and the texts of the resolutions issued by the organizations of international legitimacy have placed for it? This is the question, which now does not have enough time to wait for a curative answer.

Afghanistan

Disruption of Protest Rally Causes Concern

BK1411161891 Hong Kong AFP in English 1546 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Kabul, Nov 14 (AFP)—A clash between unknown intruders and royalists during an open rally here has triggered concern that sections within the ruling regime remained unchanged despite pledges of political glasnost in war-torn Afghanistan.

The incident which occurred Wednesday has also unsettled several of the country's minor political groups which say the "exhibition of intolerence" could well be a warning to parties from stepping out of line.

Supporters of Afghanistan's deposed monarch have dubbed Wednesday's hijacking of their anti-regime rally as Moscow-backed administration's show of reluctance towards any "external factor" in a future system of government.

"There is a crisis of confidence in Afghanistan. There is always a discrepancy between what the regime says and does, and yesterday was a clear example," said Mohammad Asghar, chief of Afghanistan's most-respected royalist [word indistinct], the National Salvation Society.

Asghar was referring to the virtual hijacking of a rally of the royalists, the first known anti-regime demonstration since President Najibollah came to power in 1986, by armed gatecrashers who hounded out the protesters, stole their flags in the presence of soldiers.

"They (the hijackers) were not common men, they would not dare do such a thing," the society leader said, hinting that it was stage-managed by a hardline section of Najibollah's Watan Party, formerly known as People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

The protesters have said the Khad or the secret police, of which Najibollah was once chief, was involved in sabotaging the small gathering.

"All these talks about political reformation and national reconciliation are an eyewash, and I have proved it," said dissident politician Zia Khan Nasery just before leaving Kabul Thursday in protest against the incident a day earlier.

"People would now be scared to come out (for rallies)," Nasery said before boarding a flight to return to the United States from where he had come earlier this month to launch the Afghan Centre of Democracy to campaign against the regime.

The PDPA, which took power in a bloody community coup in 1978 and was propped up by a Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, launched a peace offensive last year, shed its name and promised political pluralism in the country where the rebels are still fighting to topple the regime.

"If Nasery wanted to demonstrate for the king then he should have been allowed to do so," Asghar said, referring to the rally which beside demanding the dismantling of the government had called for the restoration of former King Zaher Shah as a head of a U.N.-proposed transitional government.

"If what happened yesterday in an example of political tolerence, then our chances of survivals appear rather slim," said a member of Hezb-e Eslami, one of the several parties which had been wooed last January by the government to join a national front.

Several members of the almost-defunct Hezb-e-Adalate Dehkanon, Peasants' Justice Party, warned the military-backed Khalq rivals of Najibollah in Watan were reluctant to shed their past influences or favoured the king's return.

"It is more complex than Cambodia, the return of Zaher Shah will not be as easy here because of the wide differences within the regime and in the ranks of the moderate and hardline rebel groups," said one diplomat referring to Prince Norodom Sihanouk's return Thursday to Cambodia after a 13-year exile.

Zaher Shah, deposed by cousin Mohammad Daud in 1973, lives in self-exile in Italy. The United Nations, Washington and Moscow have suggested the 77-year-old king's name as a viable head of a transitional government until elections could be held in Afghanistan.

"The Watan Party may welcome the king, but when the time comes for his return, it (regime) will turn out to be the most reluctant host", said a senior royalist, adding that after what happened Wednesday he was equally unsettled as members of other parties and hence would not liked to be named in press.

"I will rather not comment, and I do not know if the government broke its promise (to Nasery)," said Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, a former Afghan prime minister who quit the Watan in July in a huff calling it an authoritarian party which did not believe in political pluralism.

Observers said that there was perceptable uneasiness among the smaller parties, some of whom have been planning secret mergers prior to the U.N.-proposed elections after a ceasefire here.

They said the moderates, belonging to Najibollah's Parcham faction, had privately described the incident as "messy and avoidable" saying it did (?no good) to the regime's publicised reconcilatory policies of the recent past.

Rabbani Discusses Moscow Negotiations

PM1411153491 Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 9 Nov 91 p 8

[Interview with Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Jamiyat-e Eslami resistance movement and reconstruction minister in the Afghan interim government, by Badr al-Ghanimi in Peshawar; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Al-Ghanimi] Your agreement to head the mojahedin delegation to negotiate with Moscow has cast a shadow over the Jamiyat's position on the issue. Could you explain the truth to us?

[Rabbani] Negotiations with Moscow stem basically from the resolutions agreed upon by the mojahedin at all their meetings. Our position is based on the fact that the only party with whom we can negotiate our cause is the Soviet Union.

After the Tehran meeting, in which Iran and Pakistan took part, and after the changes in the Soviet Union, some brothers requested that we display our willingness to discuss the Afghan issue seriously with Moscow. When the mojahedin received an invitation they promptly accepted it. We were supposed to travel to Moscow, but some mojahedin voiced reservations about the venue and insisted that the negotiations be moved elsewhere. So we met with those who voiced reservations—namely, Hezbe-e Eslami [Yunes]-Khales, Etehad-e Eslami, and Hezbi-e Eslami-Gulbuddin [Hekmatyar]—and asked them not to be rigid in their rejection of the Moscow meeting. We proposed the possibility of moving the talks after the first meeting to one of the Soviet Islamic republics, with the Moscow meeting used as an opportunity to investigate the two sides' positions, especially as we emphasized Russia's recognition of the mojahedin as a principal party.

[Al-Ghanimi] Do you believe that the negotiations will take long?

[Rabbani] They might. But if the issues are addressed as seriously as they deserve, we might need a second and third round, but I hope that they will not last longer than that.

[Al-Ghanimi] Will other parties, apart from the mojahedin and the Soviet Union, take part?

[Rabbani] No. There are no other parties, because we do not want to internationalize the issue. [passage omitted]

[Al-Ghanimi] What principles will the mojahedin emphasize in their talks with Moscow?

[Rabbani] Our principles are confined to not allowing Moscow or anybody else to interfere in our internal affairs. We also refuse to discuss with them the kind of government in Afghanistan and how to form it. We also reject the agent government's participation in any future government

As for the subjects for discussion, they are a halt to Russian interference, war reparations, and the release of POW's. [passage omitted]

[Al-Ghanimi] Do you still refuse to comment on the assassination attempt against [former King] Zaher Shah?

[Rabbani] We mojahedin reject the policy of assassination because it is the method of the unprincipled. We therefore condemn the assassination attempt against Zaher Shah and emphasize that the mojahedin could not commit such a crime, especially because they are on the verge of victory. In fact, whoever did it is trying to harm the mojahedin's public image.

[Al-Ghanimi] A final question: The Kabul regime displayed some flexibility when Najib indirectly expressed his willingness to relinquish power in return for the formation of a coalition government. What is your opinion?

[Rabbani] Najib is completely finished now and he has no other choice. Whether or not he accepts it, he must relinquish power and flee Afghanistan.

Najibollah On Government Efforts Toward Peace

LD1211235391 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Dari 1630 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Interview with President Najibollah by Sa'ed Yusufzai, correspondent for the international service of Dushanbe radio; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Yusufzai] Your Excellency Dr. Najibollah, president of Afghanistan: First of all, allow me to convey to you the greetings and best wishes of the State Committee for Radio and Television and the people of Tajikistan. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak with you despite the large number of your engagements. With your permission, I will now ask my questions.

Esteemed President, Afghanistan and Tajikistan have a common history and culture. Please tell the listeners of the international service of Dushanbe radio about the [word indistinct] development of these relations in various areas.

[Najibollah] Thank you. I welcome you here. I hope you will convey my profound and heartfelt best wishes to our Tajik brothers. I hope they are prospering.

In connection with your question I must say that Afghanistan and Tajikistan have good historical links and profound religious ties, as well as linguistic and cultural bonds. Over the years our people have not only succeeded in establishing [word indistinct] and good relations but given the available means [words indistinct] they have taken effective steps for the expansion and consolidation of these ties. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan hopes that in the future, too, the ties of friendship and mutually beneficial economic, social, and scientific relations will be further broadened and developed between Afghanistan and Tajikistan. We

are confident that our Tajik friends share this desire. This common desire will bring about positive results in the future also, in the interest of peace and stability, as well as in securing the interests of our people.

[Yusufzai] Your Excellency, please say a few words about the resolution of the issues concerning Afghanistan, the ending of the war, and the nature of the future government of Afghanistan.

[Najibollah] The (?need) for a political solution to the issue of Afghanistan is increasingly being emphasized at both the national and the international levels. The policy of national reconciliation is successfully advancing and further paving the way for peace and reconciliation, which is the desire of the overwhelming majority of the people of Afghanistan. The peace proposals of the Republic of Afghanistan are being warmly welcomed by the commanders inside the country, by the refugees and opposition groups in Pakistan and Iran, and by the Afghans living in Europe and America. The five- point peace plan of the UN secretary general and the joint statement by the United States and Soviet Union on the cessation of arms deliveries to the Afghan belligerents are assessed as effective steps to end the war and restore peace in the country.

We are of the opinion that only the people of the country have the right to determine their future government and leadership. We have therefore proposed a free, equal, universal, and secret ballot. The will and decision of the people should be acceptable to all sides.

[Yusufzai] About three years have elapsed since the Soviet withdrawal from your country. Please recount the successes of the national reconciliation policy, which your excellency originated, during this period.

[Najibollah] The achievements of the sensible and humanitarian policy of national reconciliation are not so small that one can easily give an account of them all. It was in light of this policy that the atmosphere of legality, under the country's Constitution, prevailed. The freedoms, duties, and obligations of citizens to individuals and to society were specified, the Meli Shura resumed its functions after a 15-year lapse; a coalition government, two-thirds of whose members are nonparty forces, started work; political pluralism and the participation of all propeace forces in the administration of the country's affairs were brought about; the Homeland Party relinquished its monopoly of power; the plurality of parties acquired legal status; the return of Afghan refugees has speeded up; several decrees regarding assistance to the returning compatriots and the return of their property have been issued; the Geneva agreements were signed, in light of which the Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan; our armed compatriots have begun to support the national reconciliation policy in greater numbers; a free press began to operate; and [word indistinct] was made apolitical and nonparty. Meanwhile, the market system was made the basis of the economic system of the country and economic pluralism was emphasized. There are dozens of other issues, but to sum up, understanding, conciliation, and the cessation of war and hostility constitute the basis of our national reconciliation policy.

[Yusufzai] Given that the sacred religion of Islam is the religion of the people of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Republic of Tajikistan, I would be pleased if you could discuss the respect of the Republic of Afghanistan for the people's religious values. Please tell us how the people of Afghanistan and Tajikistan can cooperate in this respect.

[Najibollah] The religion of Islam has been our religion, and as its adherents we have followed it and continue to follow it in our policies and measures. This fact is enshrined in Articles 1 and 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The Republic of Afghanistan has taken practical, effective, and constructive measures to implement the tenets of the sacred religion of Islam, and it is implementing them. Not only have all democratic freedoms of our people to carry out their religious rites been assured, but the state also gives the necessary aid to our compatriots in this respect. The Ministry of Islamic Affairs has the task of carrying out its related duties within the government. The Islamic Research University, religious seminaries, and schools help our children to obtain religious knowledge. The Islamic Consultative Council, as a department of the presidency, gives due advice to the state on religious matters. Dozens of mosques are built every year in Kabul and in the provinces with state assistance, and hundreds of others are repaired and decorated. Prayer leaders and officials of mosques and Shiite centers receive salaries and food ration coupons. The state spends a large amount of money on subsidizing pilgrims to Mecca and Qareh Bolagh.

The Islamic Party of the People of Afghanistan, a component of the Afghan Peace Front, functions practically. It has it own publication and propaganda organ. Representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan take part in the international conferences and gatherings of the Islamic countries, and by convening forums of this kind in our country we have provided Muslims with opportunities to meet one another.

The people of Tajikistan, as Muslim neighbors of the Republic of Afghanistan, have had religious relations with Afghanistan. The visits and exchanges of view of Afghan and Tajik clergy and ulema have strengthened the ties of religious friendship between the people of the two countries. We hope that with the restoration of peace in Afghanistan not only will there be increased possibilities and opportunities for visits by the Muslims of Afghanistan and Tajikistan, but the possibility of further cooperation between these two Muslim peoples will increase also.

[Yusufzai] Finally, I would like to know what is your message for the people of the Republic of Tajikistan.

[Najibollah] My message to the people of Tajikistan is a message of peace and the continuation of the principle of good-neighborliness. We wish our neighboring Tajik brothers a prosperous and good future. We want our neighbors, and among them our Tajik brothers, to help us restore peace, put an end to war, and remove its signs from the face of Afghan society. Afghanistan and Tajikistan have a broad opportunity to expand economic, trade, and cultural relations. The expansion and the continuation of such relations are in the interest of the people of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. While we have sufficient readiness and possibilities, our hope is that our Tajik brothers will also take constructive and effective measures in this respect. I cordially hope that at various levels the leaderships of Afghanistan and Tajikistan will soon call on one another and take practical steps regarding future cooperation.

[Yusufzai] President Najibollah, we thank your excellency for having spared the time to talk to us.

Iran

Velayati Article Assesses Madrid Conference

NC1011110591 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 2 Nov 91 pp 12, 10

[Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati article: "The Madrid Conference—A Prize for Half a Century of Crimes"]

[Text] Discussing the holy aspiration of Palestine, the Palestinian struggle, and the unbearable pains inflicted on that oppressed nation is completely different today than it was in the past. Today all of Palestine has become the arena of a decisive battle between the righteous determination of nations, particularly the Islamic community which includes 1 billion Muslims worldwide, on one side, and the arrogant, hegemonic, racist, and aggressive forces on the other.

These are the forces whose special regional and extraregional objectives are to annihilate all manifestations of the independence, grandeur, and pride of the Muslims in general and of the nations in particular, to cast them in bondage, and to gain control of their immense material and moral resources in this sensitive region of the world.

With the recent changes on the international scene and the disintegration of the past bipolar structure, the world's hegemonic powers are trying to impose a new pattern of power and a new world order in which they will prepare to confront the future era, the era of nations' awakening and freedom. Recent developments in the Persian Gulf have, unfortunately, given them a good opportunity to prepare and implement these sinister objectives and intentions. We are living today, however, in a new era where a new and changed human being is seeing the world with self-confidence.

This new human being is questioning all the so-called values and rules of the past that are now rejected and that were introduced to cast him into bondage and change him. He is speaking of new beliefs. Fortunately, the Islamic awakening in the world that opened up new horizons to the Islamic community in the past decade is in the vanguards of this immense world development.

Despite all the military expeditions by the world hegemonic powers and their regional stooges, the movement of Islamic awakening has and will have the first and last say in this part of the world. The Islamic and auspicious intifadah in occupied Palestine is now safeguarding the movement that the enemy has strongly risen to confront with the help of the world's hegemonic powers. It would be naive for us to treat the Palestine problem and this life-instilling struggle which is leading to the growth and grandeur of the Islamic ummah as a simple struggle, a war over a territory, or a war for control of water resources, etc. Even if this issue was summarized this way in the past—and there is some doubt about that—the conditions today are completely different and more significant.

We must understand that conditions today are totally different from the past. Today the issue is no longer whether anyone carries out its commitments to Palestine. Today the issue is no longer one of regional strategic and tactical balance between the Zionist regime and Arab countries. That is why the arrogant powers will try to propose quantitative balances and spread the seed of disappointment in the hearts of the Muslim Palestinian nation and of the other combatants on the scene.

Today the issue is one of qualitative changes in these equations. Has the Zionist regime and its Western and Eastern allies been able to suppress the four-year intifadah of the Muslim Palestinians? Their only weapons are stones and shouts in the face of Zionist soldiers armed to the teeth. All these speak of the birth of a human being who is free from past equations and whose determination confronts the strongest weapons.

This is why today, despite all the political and military overtures by the arrogant forces, the hopes for a just solution to the Palestine problem are stronger than ever. This solution can only be possible with the annihilation of the regime occupying Palestine; the return of the holy land of Palestine, especially holy Jerusalem—this first qiblah of the Muslims—to the Muslims; the reinstitution of the just rights of the people of this land; the establishment of a system based on the vote of the Muslim nation; and the return of all refugees and homeless to their ancestral land. Fortunately, recent Gulf developments, with all their bitterness, had the positive outcome of revealing the double standards of the world's arrogant powers on military expeditions to and occupation of other peoples' lands. They showed that occupation and the occupier will be punished in our world only if the interests of arrogance are threatened. When it comes to the Zionist regime as America's strategic ally in the region, however, all slogans and allegations become

empty and bombastic. The comedy of the so-called Middle East peace conference, which is pursuing the sole objective of stabilizing the Zionist regime in the region and strengthening the diktat of the world's hegemonic powers, can also be characterized in this way.

This conference is a reward for the Zionist regime's years of treachery, savagery, and occupation without any interest whatsoever about even one inch of Palestinian land. The conference is renouncing a large part of Palestinian land which has belonged to the Islamic community throughout the centuries without gaining any guarantees of gaining access to another part of territory; namely, Jerusalem. This conference is not even considering the return of Jerusalem, despite all the Security Council resolutions. This conference is not touching the issue of ending the occupation of a territory by others; it deals with the normalization of relations between the Zionist regime and neighboring governments, actually seeking to grant legitimacy to the regime occupying Jerusalem. This conference is not even prepared to talk with an independent Palestinian delegation. All the conferees have been chosen by the Zionist regime. This list goes on.

The continuation of the auspicious Islamic intifadah in occupied Palestine is itself great proof that talks and negotiations on any problem with the Zionist regime at the Madrid conference or any decision or collective agreement in relation with the Palestine problem has no connection with the world of Islam or the Palestinian nation.

I deem it necessary to clearly state here that any agreement at any peace conference with the Zionist regime in view of the continuation of the auspicious intifadah of the Muslim Palestinians is doomed to failure.

This is why comprehensive material and moral support in all the political, combat, and propaganda levels is among the most important duties and the uppermost priorities in this phase. It is regretful that during the recent Algiers conference, instead of voicing its agreement with the auspicious Islamic intifadah and boosting the movement's morale, steps were taken with the outcome of spreading the seed of disappointment and proving the lack of credibility of those who should be among the strongest supporters of the Palestinian nation.

The truth is that the common position of the Islamic world and of the Palestinian revolutionary movement is opposed to any type of compromise and effort that would legitimize the Zionist regime. This stems from the great attention paid by the Islamic world and by the Islamic and regional movements to establish peace, calm, and lasting stability in the region.

Peace and stability cannot be achieved with the continued existence of the Zionist regime (which is entertaining thoughts of a Greater Israel on the basis of the theory "from the Nile to the Euphrates") and in view of the experiences gained from this regime in the past decades. Basically speaking, the Zionist regime—which exists because of its aggressive and warmongering nature and from income gained through exporting its military industries, foreign and private assistance from Jewish agencies, and aid and credits from various governments, especially from the United States—cannot live for a moment in an atmosphere of peace and calm free from violence and terror. The provocative remarks by Zionist officials, even now when a solution to the Palestine problem is being pursued, especially the recent aggressive act of violating the airspace of regional countries, clearly manifest such anti-peace feelings. The best example of this sentiment is the extensive transfer of Jews to occupied Palestine, the creation of Jewish settlements, and the replacement of the Palestinian nation with a race which has no cultural or historic congruity with this region.

The Zionist regime pays lip service to peace at a time when it has not halted, even for a moment, the transfer of more Jews to occupied Palestine, housing them in the Palestinian territories. According to the Zionist Jewish Immigrant Absorption Ministry, about 315,000 Jewish emigrants settled in occupied Palestine in 1990 alone and the regime is making the necessary plans to house 1 million Jews during 1991.

It is odd that those who are now paying lipservice to efforts for regional peace and security are those who have extended the largest amount of aid to the Zionist regime.

The MIDDLE EAST REPORT states that the amount of direct specialized and military aid to the Zionist regime since 1949 to date is more than $50 billion. America's annual aid from 1949 to 1959 was $652 million. In 1980 alone, aid totaled more than $3 billion, of which $1.8 billion was military aid and $1.2 billion for economic aid. This assistance does not include the $666.1 million additional aid, the $100 million assistance for the stockpiling of American arms in occupied Palestine, and the $183.5 million aid to boost the VOA and make it operational in occupied Palestine, and oth. : types of assistance.

In 1979 state statistics reveal $3 billion aid. Nothing was said about the $2.5 billion aid from the private sector and $1 billion in the form of short- and long-term loans in the same year. By adding these, we reach a $6 billion or $1,377 per Israeli, a figure higher than the gross national product of many countries, including Egypt, Morocco, Yemen, Mauritania, Sudan, and Somalia.

As for financial resources for transferring Jews, the Zionist regime's official statistics speak of sums in excess of $20 billion. We can see the link between the current compromise in the region, the extensive transfer of Jews, the Zionist regime's expansionist policy, and the peace allegations by this regime with America's approval to extend a $10-billion credit.

During World War II, when a large part of Europe was under the occupation of the Nazi Fascist party, Western and European governments strengthened national resistance movements in various parts of Europe and

inflicted crushing blows on the Nazi Army. After the war, all countries, including the Western governments, approved regulations under the title "regulations of the fourth Geneva protocol of 1949" which concerned the defense of civilians during war and recognized the right of people under occupation to fight the occupiers. Actually one of the articles in this protocol—Article 49—emphasizes that civilians cannot be transferred to occupied territories by their occupiers.

The surprising point here is that we see that not only is the regime occupying Jerusalem not facing any limitations on implementing its suppressive steps and policies of changing the demographic picture of occupied Palestine, but it is also receiving assistance and support while all plans call on the Palestinian nation and the auspicious Islamic intifadah to end their liberation struggle against the occupying enemy.

The truth is that the intifadah is a righteous uprising which gains its legitimacy from the definite and natural laws of the human race and from innate divine laws and traditions.

It is necessary to point out another dangerous plot being hatched in a bid to grant legitimacy to and alter the ugly face of the Zionist regime. We think that one of the great and everlasting successes of the UN General Assembly was scored on 16 Aban 1354 [7 November 1975] when it approved that paragraph of Resolution 397 which clearly described Zionism as a type of racism. This resolution was approved with a spectacular majority of votes. Now the various sides, especially the United States, are trying to nullify this decision by pressuring to impose its will and the interests of the Zionist regime on the majority of the world governments without showing the least bit of respect to the votes of nations. What the various Islamic and justice-seeking nations of the world, and all those who believe in the sovereignty rights of nations, should do is display their sensitivity on this.

ABRAR on Correct Concept of Press Freedom

NC1311101391 Tehran ABRAR in Persian 27 Oct 91 pp 2, 10

[Unattributed commentary: "Do Not Make A Mistake! Freedom Is Not Merely the Arena of Freedom"]

[Excerpts] "Today the writings of journalists are like water held back by a high dam but suddenly released as a flood on a dry river bed. This flood will be full of mud and silt, bringing flotsam and jetsam with it. If another dam is not built over this water and the current remains constant the flood will subside and the water will once again become crystal clear. We are now on the threshold of the vast arena of freedom and once again we wish to traverse the difficult path replete with hopes and wishes."

These words highlight the editorial of new publication NEGAH-E NOW, [meaning new look] whose first edition has been disseminated by Dr. Mohammad Taqi Banki. While welcoming NEGAH-E NOW, wishing it success in furthering the Iranian Revolutionary nation's objectives and in view of the respect afforded criticism by it, we ask its esteemed readers: Which of the first edition's articles had been mired until now behind "a high dam"?

Dear brothers. Believe me, each word of the first edition of NEGAH-E NOW was publishable even in the darkest days of the "last half century" and many similar articles have already been published. [passage omitted]

More than 80 percent of its content, apart from being outdated, is not connected with our nation or homeland. Why it has appeared in a publication which has a "difficult path replete with hopes and wishes" and is "on the threshold of the vast arena of freedom", perhaps referring to the former Shahyad Square, [a memorial in Tehran built by the shah] is not clear.

The writer of the NEGAH-E NOW editorial has made a strange historical summary and expresses the opinion: "In the past half century the country's publications had three opportunities to breathe a more or less freer atmosphere. Otherwise not everyone could air his opinions according to his own will or taste. The first opportunity was from Shahrivar 1320 [23 August-22 September 1941] to Mordad 1332, [23 July-22 August 1953] especially during the rule of Mosaddeq. The second was in the early years of the Islamic Revolution victory, the third in the "past one or two years..." [ellipsis as published]

The only factor common to the 1320-33 period and the early years of the Islamic Revolution victory was the result of governmental disarray and transition followed by consolidation. Would it not have been better for the esteemed editorial writer to speak of institutionalizing freedom according to Islamic Revolution gains, instead of opportunistically drawing analogies between the "past one or two years" and the other eras?

This nation's pain and sorrow about freedom stems from most defenders of freedom viewing the concept of freedom in the same way as the writer of the "NEGAH-E NOW" editorial. They disseminate their distorted and erroneous comprehension of this deep and hallowed term in a few thousand editions of a publication, and freedom's true supporters and defenders must make cultural efforts to obliterate such distorted and false interpretations from the public mind. [passage omitted]

We hope that NEGAH-E NOW will find "new opportunities," at least for "planning," studying society's problems, and correctly understanding social issues.

Maldives

President Seeks To Convene SAARC Summit

BK1111112691 Colombo Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation International Service in English 1045 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom of the Maldives is continuing with his efforts and consultations to arrange the sixth SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit as early as possible. His foreign minister, Fathulla Jameel, will visit the capitals of India, Nepal, and Bhutan in a bid to consult with those governments about convening the sixth summit in Colombo at the earliest convenience. The Maldivian leader is continuing these efforts in his capacity as the current chairman of SAARC. Mr. Gayoom is hopeful of finalizing the issue very soon according to a communique issued by the Maldivian high commissioner in Colombo, Ahmed Abdullah.

Government Lifts Visa Restrictions on Sri Lankans

BK1211112291 Colombo Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation International Service in English 1045 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] The Maldivian Government has lifted the requirement of visas to bona fide tourists and visitors from Sri Lanka. This follows bilateral discussions President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom had with President Ranasinghe Premadasa during his two-day state visit to Sri Lanka last week.

The visa requirement was enforced after the armed aggression on the 3d of November 1988 against the Maldives, as a temporary measure. It has been lifted with effect from today to mark the 12th anniversary of the reopening of the Maldivian High Commission in Colombo. The reopening of the mission was initiated by Mr. Gayoom in his pursuit to further strengthening the age-old bilateral and other links between the Maldives and Sri Lanka. Since then President Gayoom has made two state visits and one official visit, as well as several private visits, to Sri Lanka. The majority of foreigners employed in the Maldives are from Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan teachers have been working there since the Maldives introduced (?universal) education in 1961. Tourism sector also employs a large number of Sri Lankans.

Pakistan

Prime Minister Denies Nuclear Arms Program Exists

JN1311144791 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1300 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Doha, 13 Nov (WAKH)—Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has denied that his country is making efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. He indicated that Pakistan has a modest nuclear program of a purely peaceful nature, the launching of which was dictated by Pakistan's urgent need for energy.

In a statement to the QATARI NEWS AGENCY carried today, Nawaz Sharif affirmed that the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia is a prerequisite for peace in the region.

The Pakistani prime minister emphasized the need to achieve joint cooperation among Islamic states in all areas, particularly in the scientific and technological sectors in a manner that serves common interests so that these countries can match the development achieved by other countries.

As for Pakistan's reaction to the Madrid Middle East peace conference, Nawaz Sharif welcomed the convening of the conference and reiterated the consistent stand of Pakistan which emphasizes the need to achieve a comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on UN resolutions.

In reply to a question on Pakistan's position vis-a-vis the conflict in Afghanistan and the attempts by some parties to put pressure on the Afghan mojahedin to impose a non-Islamic solution, Nawaz Sharif affirmed that Afghanistan is an Islamic country. Similarly, he asserted that its people will not accept a non-Islamic solution to their problem. He reiterated that his country is still committed to a political settlement of the Afghan conflict.

With regard to the Kashmir issue, the Pakistani prime minister called for resolving the issue in light of the relevant UN resolutions, which provide for holding a fair and honest referendum to enable the province's population to exercise their right to self-determination. He regretted the fact that the Indian authorities had used excessive force in the province, a matter which caused the deaths of thousands of residents.

With respect to Pakistan's ties with Qatar and the Gulf Cooperation Council member states, Nawaz Sharif termed his country's ties with Qatar as strong. These ties, he added, are based on cultural, political, and religious factors which have brought the peoples of the two countries together over hundreds of years. He expressed the hope that bilateral cooperation will grow further in the wake of the visit to Pakistan concluded yesterday by His Highness Shaykh Khalifah Bin-Hamad Al Thani, Qatari heir apparent and defense minister. Pakistan seeks to build bridges of friendship with the Gulf states, Nawaz Sharif concluded.

Government Welcomes UN Nuclear Arms Resolution

BK1311133091 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1300 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Pakistan has expressed its satisfaction over the increasing support at the UN for its call for establishment of nuclear weapon-free zone in South Asia. Commenting on adoption of a draft [word indistinct] resolution on a nuclear weapon-free zone in South Asia by an

overwhelming majority at the first committee of the UN General Assembly, a Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad said it augured to achieve this objective. A notable achievement for Pakistan this year is that the Soviet Union supported the Resolution for the first time. He hoped it will also give impetus to the proposal of the Pakistan prime minister for five-nation consultation for establishing a nuclear nonproliferation region in South Asia.

At the first committee level another achievement for Pakistan was the passage of another draft resolution cosponsored by 40 other countries regarding regional disarmament. The spokesman expressed the confidence that the increased support this year would help achieve the objectives of nuclear nonproliferation in South Asia and reduction of conventional armament.

Paper Notes China Ties, U.S. South Asia Policy

BK1111133291 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 91 p 6

[By Shireen M. Mazari]

[Text] As the U.S. moves into the final stage of asserting its agenda in the Middle East, with the holding of the Madrid Middle East conference to dictate the fate of the Palestinians and redefine the politico-military dynamics of this region, it is also focusing increasing attention on South Asia. As American designs in this region become more overt, one can see a consistency in the pattern emerging in various regions of the world which reflects the altered global military-politico milieu.

Following the pattern of the Middle East, where the American plan sees a diplomatically and politico-militarily strong Israel as the pivot of the strategic dynamics of the region, the nucleus of the American plan in South Asia is the evolving strategic Indo-American relationship. Other than the American need to have an access to the vast Indian market, especially with the economic competition the Americans face from Japan and the expanded European Community, the most significant aspect of this relationship is the defence cooperation between India and the U.S.

It is within this framework that Pakistan needs to examine developments in the region and frame suitable policies—especially in two critical issue-areas: its own security imperatives and, linked to that, its policy on global and regional arms-control initiatives that are now proliferating international politics.

In relation to its security imperatives, Pakistan needs to realise very clearly that the American alliance is simply not a viable option anymore—no matter how alluring the civilian decision-makers might find the Americans. At the same time, it is now apparent that a small state like Pakistan cannot preserve its national interests in isolation and, therefore, there is a need to develop a strong regional alliance with other states sharing a commonality of interests.

A major step in this direction seems already to have been taken with what appears to be an emerging triangular strategic concensus between China, Pakistan and Iran. While Pakistan has had a long-standing relationship with both these states, the linkages developing between Iran and China is a newly emergent factor which allows Pakistan to play a central role in directing this triangular arrangement towards intensified politico-military cooperation. China and Pakistan already have a history of cooperation in the defence production field, and Pakistan and Iran have also made a cautious start in this direction.

However, in the final analysis, in terms of security, nothing can substitute a strong national defence—especially with Iran seeking economic links with India, and China seeeking rapprochement with India. It is within this context that Pakistan must take decisions relating to its nuclear-weapons option and its conventional force developments—especially the indigenisation of defence production.

In other words, if the leadership is convinced that the nuclear issue has a purely bilateral context and the nuclear option is relevant only as long as India retains that option, then it makes sense to talk in terms of signing the NPT [nuclear nonproliferation treaty] on condition that India does too. However, if the nuclear option is a viable posture for a credible defence, then it should not be bargained away. For instance, one must examine the quantitative and qualitative military imbalance in India's favour in terms of conventional defence and assess whether there is any way, other than the nuclear option, of rectifying this imbalance.

Simply desiring peace with India is not a sufficient reason to abandon a strong defence as long as very critical issues remain unresolved between the two sides. In fact, there is a strong case to suggest that nuclear deterrence will not only allow Pakistan the flexibility of keeping its conflicts with India localised (as it happened in the summer of 1990 over Kashmir), but will also allow it to cut down the burden of its conventional defence budget.

Therefore, the Pakistani leadership needs to consider all the security ramifications before continuously claiming that it will sign the NPT along with India.

Finally, within the framework of its security imperatives, Pakistan also must be absolutely clear that given the new Indo-American relationship, American efforts to broker any form of agreement between India and Pakistan on Kashmir will be heavily biased in favour of the former—just as the Madrid initiative relating to the Palestinian issue is heavily tilted in favour of the policy objectives of Israel. If peace brokers need to be sought, they must be sought elsewhere, and when Pakistan's local position has the appropriate politico-military advantage on the ground.

It is within these security imperatives that Pakistan must consider the multiple arms-control arrangements that

are being vociferously pushed through by the U.S. and its allies. The issue of nuclear nonproliferation has seen an enthusiastic revival as a result of the Gulf crisis. Interestingly, it has been accompanied by revelations of the strength of Israel's nuclear arsenal without the accompanying pressure for Israel to give it up. In addition, the U.S. showed a wish to give de facto recognition to India's nuclear capability by attempting to allow India to bypass the Pressler Amendment—so religiously adhered to in the case of Pakistan.

The noise over the fact that China and France have agreed to sign the NPT has been aimed at downplaying the fact that signing the NPT will not alter the nuclear status of these states. In any case, France had been subscribing to the norms of nuclear nonproliferation regime since it became a party to the London Suppliers Club, and China's nuclear cooperation with other states has also been of a very limited nature.

Accompanying the NPT in renewed vigour is the new baby of the global arms control agenda—the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). The MTCR is not a formal treaty but, like the nuclear suppliers club, a framework for regulating the export policies of the participating states—through the prohibition of the transfer of nuclear-capable missiles to the developing world along with restricting the supply of missile-related technologies.

Together with the NPT, the MTCR's intention is not to prevent the build-up of arms arsenals in the developing world per se, but to merely deprive them of the option of developing technologically advanced weapons capabilities—as if killing by tanks is all right but not by missiles! Of course, the MTCR will also deprive states of the spin-off effects of such technologies in the civilian sphere.

In South Asia, the focus of the MTCR has been Pakistan since India's missile programme is largely indigenous. The MTCR has gained prominence not only because of the technical improvements in developing countries' missile payloads, range, reliability and accuracy; but also because of the linkage between missile technologies and nonconventional warheads (chemical and nuclear).

The pressure of the MTCR makes it imperative for Pakistan to develop its indigenous missile-production base, and here the criticality of its relationship with China becomes apparent. Like the nuclear deterrent, missiles, which in the Indo-Pakistan framework seem rational primarily within an unconventional mode, can only strengthen strategic stability and allow for conventional defence cuts.

Therefore, Pakistan must realise the fallaciousness of the argument that missile proliferation is inherently destabilising. The real source of instability in regions like South Asia has been the continuing conflicts among the states of the region as well as the internal subnational conflicts which spill over into neighbouring states. As internal conflicts get enmeshed with external inter-stage conflicts, stable and secure deterrence is the only sine qua non for maintaining regional peace and keeping conflicts limited. That the American agenda in South Asia seeks to destroy this through its security and arms control policies, must be recognised and dealt with by Pakistan and its allies.

Editorial Praises Chinese Aid, Relations

BK1111112991 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Friend in Hour of Need"]

[Text] The two agreements concluded at the end of talks between the visiting Chinese President Yang Shangkun and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan are a testament to the two leaders' description of Pak [Pakistani]-China ties as "an all weather friendship." The first agreement involves a loan of 50 million yuan for Pakistan, and the second, comprises a grant of 3 million yuan for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The significance of these two accords lies not in the amount but in the fact that China is giving us this assistance at a time when aid from other countries—economic, military and humanitarian—is not forthcoming.

Pakistan's major aid donor, the United States, has halted all aid since last year, and we are also feeling the crunch of the recent decision taken by other aid-giving countries and agencies (e.g., Japan, Germany and the IMF) to impose conditionalities on aid to all countries, including Pakistan. As President Ghulam Ishaq Khan said in his banquet speech, international humanitarian assistance for the three and a half million Afghan refugees in Pakistan has also recently declined.

The Chinese 50 million yuan loan is not only free of political strings and conditionalities but also interest free. Pakistan will not forget China's financial pledge at this hour of need. The gesture will serve to bind and strengthen further the already close friendship between the two countries built up over the past forty years.

President Yang's visit is also a big morale booster for Pakistan at a time when the United States is improving relations with India. The latter event by itself, just like China's efforts to improve relations with India, would not have been worrying but for the fact that it is being done at the expense of American relations with Pakistan or so it is perceived. At a time when Washington is improving ties with India, especially in the military sphere, Western countries, with Washington taking the lead, have stopped all military aid and banned military sales to Pakistan. Under these circumstances, the simultaneous visit by the Chief of Army Staff General Asif Nawaz to China takes special significance, particularly since China is being threatened with penalties should it provide certain categories of military equipment to five Muslim countries, including Pakistan, as a result of a Congressional bill passed in April.

President Yang has also taken the occasion of his visit to endorse support for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's proposal of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. In an interview with APP just before he left Beijing for Islamabad, President Yang pledged support for the Prime Minister's proposal of holding consultations among the United States, the Soviet Union, China, India and Pakistan on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia. President Yang's support for this nuclear stand of Pakistan bears significance in view of the fact that the Western world is trying to isolate Pakistan on the nuclear issue while keeping mum on India's nuclear arsenal. That China is the first country to respond positively to Islamabad's proposal is not only a reflection of the common regional political perceptions shared by the two countries. It also indicates China's willingness to join hands with Pakistan, and other concerned countries, in making South Asia free of the nuclear threat.

Minister Comments on SAARC Summit Postponement

BK1011163491 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1600 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] The Senate, which transacted nonofficial business today, admitted a private bill—Capital Development Authority Amendment Bill—moved by Malik Faridullah Khan and referred it to the standing committee concerned for report.

Making a statement in the house concerning SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit and Pakistan's bilateral relations with SAARC countries, the minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr. Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanjoo, said Pakistan had contributed meaningfully in establishment, evolution, and progress of SAARC and remained firmly committed to it. He stated that postponement of the summit was a setback to the organization but hoped it could be placed back on the rails through goodwill and cooperation. He said the stand taken by Pakistan was supported by four other member countries, but India objected to the holding of the summit, saying it required personal presence of heads of state or government of member countries.

The minister of state for foreign affairs pointed out that the prime minister decided to visit Sri Lanka as a mark of solidarity with that country. The house will meet again on Tuesday morning.

Finance Minister Reviews Economic Performance

BK0911041591 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1600 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] The economic reforms introduced by the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government have provided positive impetus to the country's economy. This was stated by the federal finance minister, Mr. Sartaj Aziz, at a news conference in Islamabad today. Giving an overview of economic policies and reforms of the last one year, he said the exchange and payments of funds had resulted in an inflow of $650 million in foreign exchange in the past six months. Direct foreign investment during the last financial year was 15 percent higher than the preceding year.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said the industrialization process has also accelerated. Machinery imports during the first quarter of the current financial year were of $593 million, which is almost double the imports in the same period last year. The significant feature of the performance of the economy in 1990-91 was a 19-percent increase in exports. He said there was an economic growth of 6.7 percent, reduction in inflation from 12.7 to 8 percent, and the fiscal deficit to below 5 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product].

The finance minister said the National Finance Commission award has transferred additional resources to the tune of 22 billion rupees to the provinces, and almost half of these are being used on the social sector.

Sri Lanka

Paper Criticizes Cancellation of SAARC Summit

BK1311131191 Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 7 Nov 91 p 6

[Editorial: "An Unfortunate Reverse"]

[Text] The eleventh-hour cancellation of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Summit, that was due to open in Colombo today, is not only a disappointment for the government and people of Sri Lanka but is a blow that strikes at the very heart and roots of an association which bears the promise of improving the conditions of a billion of the world's poorest people.

Very elaborate arrangements had been made by the Sri Lanka Government to host the sixth Summit of the 7-member grouping. A great deal of hard work and, indeed, expense had been incurred to warmly receive the leaders of South Asia in Colombo; and there was every expectation of a fruitful meeting. We had said in these columns yesterday that there was a spirit of both optimism and good fellowship that should help take SAARC forward.

Whatever the optimism, the good fellowship has been sadly lacking. No power, however big or powerful, should regard an association founded as an instrument of regional co-operation, that would redound to the good of the people of South Asia as a whole, as a means of delivering diplomatic snubs of one kind or another.

India would have best known the internal problems facing the King of Bhutan. He is not confronted with a situation that developed overnight. An insurgency has been going on in some parts of his country for some time now, and recent visitors to the kingdom believe that the situation now is better than it was some weeks ago.

Nevertheless, the king would be the best judge of whether it was wise or not for him to leave his country at this time. But, as Colombo urged, a special envoy could have represented His Majesty. That, no doubt, would not have been strictly in accordance with the SAARC Charter but there are, at least, two precedents where member-nations were represented by somebody other than the Head of State or Head of Government.

There was no invocation of the SAARC Charter in Male' last year when Prime Minister D.B. Wijetunga, who is neither Sri Lanka's Head of State nor Head of Government, represented this country at the sixth Summit.

Thus, a degree of flexibility would have enabled the Colombo Summit to have been concluded. That consensus, unfortunately, was lacking and Sri Lanka can do no better than receive those dignitaries who are coming here, despite the unfortunate cancellation of the Summit itself as State guests.

Bilateral talks will be held with them and they too may take advantage of the opportunity to talk to each other about their own concerns. Although there will be no Summit, the various ceremonies, the retreat in Kandy providing an opportunity for informal contacts in relaxed and pleasant surroundings and other arrangements will all go according to plan.

President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom of the Maldives, the incumbent Chairman of SAARC, will not have the problem of dealing with the aftermath of the cancellation of the Colombo Summit. He was due to hand over the mantle of the chairman of the association to President Premadasa in Colombo today. But that will now not be possible. Male' must now carry the responsibility of ensuring continuity of the movement.

It is obvious to anybody that, in the context of the various bilateral problems that exist between the various members of SAARC, unwavering insistence on Heads of State or of Government attending Summits will provide opportunities in the future for sabotaging such meetings by the expedient of keeping off. In that regard alone, the precedent that has now been set is most unfortunate.

The Male' Summit projected a spirit of optimism and high resolve. The non-event in Colombo would have done just the opposite, particularly due to the eleventh hour cancellation that was forced upon Sri Lanka. At a time when so many fences have been mended and previously strained relations have improved among the various South Asian nations, it is a pity that SAARC has faced this reverse.

But it is now necessary to look forward rather than backwards. Experience is always an education, and the leaders of South Asia must draw the necessary lessons. There must also be a firm resolve to make the grouping work. SAARC will not become an EC or ASEAN without a spirit of both flexibility and generosity, two factors that appear to have been lacking at this time.